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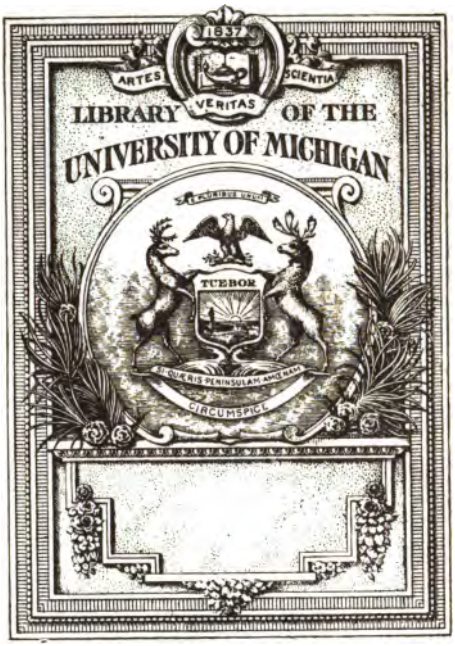
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CLAUDE FLEURY,

Prior of S. Argenteuil.

Born Dec. 6. 1640. Died July 14. 1723

Aged 83 Years

Glorificavit illum Deus in conspectu Regum.

THE

MANNERS

OF THE

ANTIENT ISRAELITES;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR

PECULIAR CUSTOMS, CEREMONIES, LAWS, POLITY, RELIGION, SECTS, ARTS AND TRADES,

THEIR

DIVISION OF TIME, WARS, CAPTIVITIES, DISPERSION,

AND

PRESENT STATE.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN FRENCH,

BY

CLAUDE FLEURY,

ABBÉ OF ARGENTEUIL, AND ONE OF THE FORTY MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY, PARIS.

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

Antient and Modern Samaritans.

THE WHOLE MUCH ENLARGED FROM THE PRINCIPAL WRITERS ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,

By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D. F.A.S.

THE FOURTH EDITION,

WITH MANY ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. BAYNES AND SON, PATERNOSTER-ROW, J. BUTTERWORTH AND SON, 43, FLEET-STREET, AND T. BLANSHARD, CITY-ROAD.

1820.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.

PRINTED BY J. AND T. CLARKE, 38, ST. JOHN'S-SQUARE, LONDON.

PREFACE.

EVERY attempt to illustrate the BIBLE, the oldest and most important book in the world, a book that has GOD for its *Author*, and the eternal happiness of the human race for its *end*, deserves the most serious attention of all those who profess the Christian religion.

It is granted on all hands, that this book has many difficulties: but this is not peculiar to the Jewish Scriptures; all antient writings are full of them. And these difficulties are generally in proportion to the antiquity of such writings; for the customs, manners, and language, of mankind are continually changing; and were it not for the help received from the records of succeeding ages, which are only accessible to the learned, many valuable works of primitive times must have remained in impenetrable obscurity. Scholars and critics have exerted themselves in the most laudable manner to remove or elucidate the difficulties occurring in antient authors; and, (thanks to their industry) they have rendered the study of these writers not only easy but delightful; and brought the literature of antient Greece and Rome within the reach even of our children.

But the *Heathen writers* have not been the *only* objects of regard in the grand system of critical disquisition. A host of the most eminent scholars that ever graced the republic of letters, or ennobled the human character, have carefully read, and diligently studied the *Sacred Writings;* have felt their beauties, and prized their excellencies; and, by their learned and pious works, have not only recommended them to mankind at large, but rendered them useful to all who wish to read *so* as to

understand. Some of these have been addressed to the infidel, others to the scholar, and some to the plain unlettered Christian. The number of the latter, it is true, has not been great: but what is deficient in quantity is supplied by the very accurate information they impart. Such works require only to be better known in order to become universally esteemed.

In the first rank of such writers the *Abbé Fleury* and *Father Lamy* stand highly and deservedly distinguished; the former by his treatise entitled *Mœurs des Israelites*, (the book now before the reader,) and the latter by his well known work called *Apparatus Biblicus*. The former is allowed by competent judges to be the most accurate and useful treatise on the subject ever published.

In 1750 the *Mœurs des Israelites* was translated in one vol. 8vo. with this title:—"The Customs of the Israelites: translated from the French of the Abbot Fleury, by R. G." (*Richard Gough*, the celebrated antiquary, then a youth of about fifteen years of age.) This translation I have not seen; it was never *sold*, being done for presents to the friends of Mr. Gough and his family. See *Nichols'* Anecdotes, Vol. VI. p. 266.

In 1756 another translation issued from the press of Mr. Bowyer, with the following title:—"A Short History of the Israelites: with an Account of their Manners, Customs, Laws, Polity, and Religion; being a useful Introduction to the reading of the Old Testament. Translated from the French of Abbé Fleury, by *Ellis Farneworth*, M. A." 8vo.

The honour of this translation, though long given to the above claimant, does not appear to be his just due; but belongs to Mr. *Thomas Bedford*, of Compton, near Ashbourne, Derbyshire, who furnished Mr. F. both with the original and the translation; as appears by a letter of his to Mr. Bowyer the Printer, and from which we learn that the work was not then well received by the public.

"Compton, near Ashbourne, Derbyshire, 1763.

"Mr. *Farneworth* has left his poor sister in woeful circumstances, a very worthy gentlewoman in the decline of life, and of an infirm constitution. She will be so just to the creditors as to give up all his effects to any one who will administer; and depend upon Providence and the benevolence of her friends, and other charitable people, for her future subsistence.

"I was sorry *Fleury's* useful little book was so unsuccessful: it was I that put it into his hands, both the *original* and the *translation*, (that had lain by me many years) in hopes that it would have raised him fifteen or twenty pounds; knowing that both he and his sisters, for then he had another living, were low at that time. Your very humble servant,

To Mr. Bowyer. THOMAS BEDFORD."[a]

This is to be regretted, both on account of the editor, Mr. Farneworth, and on account of the public, who deprived itself of one of the most useful manuals of the kind that ever proceeded from the press. Nor was it neglected in consequence of not being introduced to public attention; for the monthly reviewers gave a very extensive notice of it, of no less than twelve pages, in their review for October, 1756. Vol. XV. p. 321.

When I first thought of preparing a new edition of this work for the public, I intended to re-translate the original: but, on reading over the translation attributed to Mr. Farneworth, I was satisfied that a better one, on the whole, could scarcely be hoped for. In general the language is simple, pure, and elegant; and both the spirit and unction of the original are excellently preserved. I therefore made no scruple to adopt it; reserving to myself the liberty to correct what I thought amiss, and to add such notes as I judged necessary to the fuller elucidation of the work.

As some judicious friends thought the original work rather too concise, and hinted that several useful addi-

[a] See Nichols' Anec. of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II. p. 392.

tions might be made to it on the same plan, I was naturally led to turn to *Father Lamy* for materials; whose work, above mentioned, I considered as ranking *next* to that of the *Abbé Fleury*. From Mr. *Bundy's* edition, much of the *fourth* part of the present volume is extracted. Those points which I thought the *Abbé* had treated too concisely to make intelligible, I have considered more at large; and some subjects of importance, which he had totally omitted, I have here introduced. To the whole I have added a *copious index*, by which any subject discussed in the work may at once be referred to. I have now reason to hope that every serious Christian, of whatever denomination, will find this Volume a faithful and pleasant guide to a thorough understanding of all the customs and manners, civil and religious, of that *people* to whom GOD originally entrusted the Sacred Oracles. Without a proper knowledge of these it is impossible to see the reasonableness and excellency of that worship, and of those ceremonies, which GOD Himself originally established among the Israelites: and by which He strongly prefigured that glorious revelation under which we have the happiness to live.

Many have spoken very highly of the usefulness of this work. Among the rest the late excellent bishop of Norwich, Dr. Horne, recommends it in the following terms: —"This little book contains a *concise*, *pleasing*, and just account of the *manners*, *customs*, *laws*, *polity*, and *religion* of the Israelites. It is an excellent introduction to the reading of the Old Testament, and should be put into the hands of every young person." DISCOURSES, Vol. I.

This recommendation will have its due weight, both with the *learned* and the *pious*.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE former Edition of this work has been received by the British public with such flattering marks of approbation as are highly honourable to the memory of its excellent author. In no common case has the public opinion been more correctly formed, nor more unequivocally expressed. The *Editor* too has had his share of the public approbation; and takes this opportunity of acknowledging his grateful sense of the praise bestowed on his part of the work. Actuated solely by the desire of doing good to his countrymen, and especially to the plain unlettered Christian, he undertook a work from which he *neither expected nor received any kind of emolument.* He has, however, been amply rewarded by the *satisfactory consciousness* of having endeavoured to promote the study of those *living oracles* which *testify of Jesus;* and *the conviction* that his labour has been crowned with success.

When he found from the rapid sale of the first, that a second edition would soon be called for, believing the work susceptible of still farther improvements, and consequently of being more useful to the public, he determined to spare no pains to render it fully worthy of that patronage by which it had been already so highly favoured. Having now accomplished his design, as far as circumstances would permit, he thinks it proper to inform the reader what has been done, in order to furnish him with additional pleasure and instruction.

1. The translation has been collated with three copies of the original: the *first edition* published by the Abbé, Paris, 1681. 12mo; the Paris edition of 1736, 12mo. with

additional references; and that in the OPUSCULES *de M. l' Abbé* FLEURY, Tome I. *à Nismes*, 1780, 5 vols. 8vo. This collation has given rise to innumerable alterations and improvements of the translation.

2. The references, not only to the Scriptures, but also to the Greek and Latin writers, have been collated with the authors themselves; and a multitude of errors have been corrected which had been increasing with every edition of the work.

3. To render these references more serviceable to the reader many of them have been produced at full length, accompanied with an English translation, where the matter appeared to be of considerable importance.

4. A great variety of notes have been added, to illustrate and confirm what is advanced in the text, and to make the meaning more easy to be understood.

5. Some supplementary chapters have been inserted, viz. *On the Hebrew poetry;—Instruments of music among the antient Hebrews;—Hindoo and Mohammedan fasts, purifications, &c.* to illustrate those of the antient Jews;—*A short history of the antient and modern Samaritans*, which was certainly a *desideratum* in the former editions; together with a short sketch of the *present state of the Jews*, and a copy of their antient *Liturgy*.

6. To the work *a Life of the Author* is prefixed, which had not been done in the former English editions; and which, though short, will, it is hoped, serve to bring the reader more particularly acquainted with the amiable spirit of this excellent man.

On the whole the Editor hopes the work will now more effectually answer the purpose for which it was formed, viz. to render the study of the Bible improving and delightful; and thus, especially to the young and inexperienced, prove an antidote against Deism, irreligion, and impiety of all sorts. For he thinks it would be impossible, even for a *prejudiced* mind, to read over the history of this antient people, and compare their political

and ecclesiastical state with that of any other nation upon earth, without being convinced, that they had statutes and judgments such as no other people could boast of, and such as the human mind could never have devised for itself: in short, that GOD was among them of a truth; and that *THEY were the people of His pasture*, and *the sheep of His hand.*

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE THIRD EDITION.

IN this new Edition, I have carefully revised the whole work; added many notes for the farther elucidation of the different subjects; given a new arrangement of the *Appendixes*, which I have placed, not at the end of the chapters to which they refer, but at the end of that part of the work written by the Abbé Fleury.—Some of these, especially that on the Hebrew poetry, I have new-modelled and enlarged, and given a more copious index than before; and have printed the work in the 8vo form, with a larger letter, particularly for the benefit of elderly persons. I send, therefore, the *Manners of the Israelites*, a *third* time into the public, with increasing claims on that attention and benevolence which have already been so signally exerted in its behalf.

☞ The notes which I have borrowed from the original translation I have marked with E. F.

N. B. In this *Fourth Edition*, I have made many improvements. Appendix, No. v. is entirely re-written; to which are added accurate Tables of Jewish money, weights and measures of every kind: all reduced to English sterling and standard. All sums, wherever they occur in the work, have been re-calculated, and all reduced to British Standard.

Millbrook, Jan. 1, 1820.

A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF THE

ABBE FLEURY.

THOSE who have profited by the works of the learned and pious naturally wish to know who the persons were from whom they have received so much instruction; and are glad to meet with any account of lives, which they know must have been spent not only innocently but usefully. This disposition, so natural to man, has been deeply studied by the inspired writers; hence their works abound with biography and biographical anecdotes: and thus truth teaches not only by precept, but also by example, and hereby seems to assume a body, and render itself palpable. Of the Abbé Fleury I have been able to meet with few anecdotes which can be particularly interesting to the *pious* reader, as most accounts which have been hitherto published of him relate chiefly to his *literary* history. The following memoirs, which I have collected from the most authentic sources, are, I must confess, very scanty; but they are such as cannot fail to give some pleasure to those who are admirers of the invaluable work to which they are prefixed.

Claude Fleury, in Latin, *Claudius Florus*, was born at Paris, Dec. 6, 1640. He was son of a lawyer originally of the diocese of Rouen, and was brought up to the bar. In 1658 he was received advocate to the parliament in Paris, in which employment he continued for nine years, devoting all his time to the study of jurisprudence and the belles lettres; in which he made uncommon proficiency. This kind of life not entirely suiting his natural inclination, which was gentle, peaceable, and benevolent, he abandoned it, devoted himself to the study of theology, entered into the ecclesiastical state, and soon arrived at the order of priesthood.

From this time he devoted himself to the study of the Sacred Writings, divinity, ecclesiastical history, the canon law, and the works of the fathers. He confined himself for a considerable time to these studies *alone*, from a persuasion that they were most suitable to his clerical functions; and that a more extensive range in the sciences, by diffusing the attention too much, must render the judgment and understanding less profound.

His deep piety and solid learning gained him great reputation; and Lewis XIV. who was well qualified to discern great and useful talents, and well knew how to employ them, made him preceptor to the princes of *Conti*, in 1672: whom he caused to be educated with the Dauphin his son. These princes were, *Lewis Armand* and *Francis Lewis*, sons of *Armand de Bourbon*, prince of Conti, and chief of that illustrious family.

The fidelity and accuracy with which this amiable man discharged the duties of his office in this important business procured him another pupil from the royal family; for in 1680 the king made him preceptor to the Prince de *Vermandois*, admiral of France, one of his legitimated natural sons; but this prince died in 1683.

In 1684, the king, highly pleased with his fidelity and success in the office of preceptor to the princes, gave him the Abbey of *Loc-Dieu*, in the diocese of Rhodez; and

in 1689 he appointed him subpreceptor to his three grand-children, Lewis duke of *Burgundy;* Philip duke of *Anjou;* and Charles duke of *Berri*, sons of the *Dauphin*. In this important employment he was associated with that most accomplished scholar, and most amiable of men, Monsr. *Fenelon*, afterwards archbishop of Cambray. Like his assistant, the Abbé Fleury had the happy art of rendering virtue amiable by connecting delight with instruction, and of making the precepts of religion pleasant by exemplifying them in a placid, steady, and upright conduct. Thus precept and example went hand in hand, and mutually supported each other. Never had pupils greater advantages; and never were teachers more revered by their pupils. Lewis duke of Burgundy became dauphin, April 14, 1711, and died Feb. 18, 1712. Philip duke of Anjou became king of Spain in 1700, with the title of Philip V.

In 1696 the French Academy chose him for one of its forty members: the highest literary honour in France. A choice due to the merit of the Abbé Fleury, and which was at the same time an honour to the Academy itself.

The studies of the three princes being ended in 1706, the king, who knew as well how to reward merit, as to distinguish it, presented him with the priory of *Nôtre Dame d'Argenteuil*, in the diocese of Paris: but this learned and conscientious man, an exact observer of the canons, (which indeed he had made a particular object of study) gave a rare example of disinterestedness in delivering up into the hands of the king the Abbey of *Loc-Dieu*, which he refused to hold in conjunction with his priory! An example, which in the present day we may hope in vain to find, as sinecures and pluralities are sought after with an extreme avidity, every one seeking his gain from his own quarter, and never saying in his heart it is enough.

In 1716 the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, made him Confessor to the young king Lewis XV., son

to the duke of Burgundy. In this important employment he continued till 1722, when his age and infirmities obliged him to give it up. Had it not been well known that the Abbé had executed the office of preceptor to the father with the strictest zeal and integrity, we may rest assured that he never would have been entrusted with the dearest interests of the son, and indeed of the whole French nation. This was the highest eulogium that could possibly be given to the merit of this extraordinary man.

For many years he had been in the very high-road to preferment: but his deadness to the world induced him steadily to avoid any farther advancement; and, being completely satisfied with his priory, he refused to have any thing in addition.

Though he lived in the midst of a court where pleasure reigned, and rational devotion to God was unfashionable; yet he steadily pursued his course, and lived in the centre of fashion and folly, as if he had been in the innost recesses of a cell; constantly refusing the slightest compliance with any thing that was not conformed to the purest principles of the gospel of CHRIST.

Having spent a long life in exemplary piety, and laborious usefulness, he died of an apoplexy July 14, 1723, in the 83d year of his age.

The portrait of this excellent man was painted in 1700 by *Gobert*, and engraved by *Thomassin*; he was then in his 60th year: and from a copy of this original the elegant print prefixed to this work was taken. The motto, *Glorificavit illum Deus in conspectu regum*, God hath glorified him in the sight of *kings*, is taken from Ecclus. xlv. 3, and is there applied to Moses. The editor of the Nismes edition of his *Opuscula*, 5 vols. 8vo. explains the motto as follows: "God glorified him in the sight of *Lewis* XIV. who judged him worthy to be entrusted with the education of the princes of the blood royal of France. God glorified him before *Philip* V. king of Spain, formerly duke of Anjou, one of his pupils. God glorified

him before *Lewis* XV. whose Confessor he was by the appointment of the duke of Orleans the regent; having been before preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, the father of the young king. Thus Gon glorified him successively in the sight of *three kings*."

On his death several of the academicians signalized themselves by eulogiums to his memory: a few extracts from which will shew in what estimation he was held by that learned body. Mr. *Adam*, who was chosen to succeed him in the academy, speaks of him in the following terms in his inaugural discourse, delivered before that august assembly, Dec. 2, 1723.

"Where shall we find so many inestimable qualities united in one person? An excellent understanding, cultivated with intense labour; profound knowledge; a heart full of uprightness: not only innocent in his manners, but leading a simple, laborious and edifying life, always accompanied with sincere modesty; an admirable disinterestedness, an unfailing regularity of conduct, and perfect fidelity in the performance of his duty; in a word, an assemblage of all those talents and virtues which constitute the scholar, the honest man, and the Christian."

The *Abbé de Roquette*, following Mr. Adam, spoke of this great man in the same high strain of justly merited panegyric. "We shall," says he, "always deplore the loss of our late pious, learned, and illustrious associate. Nothing can obliterate the strong impression which his virtues have made on our minds. Candour, uprightness, affability, meekness, and strict probity, seemed to constitute the very essence of his soul. Nature had lavished her choicest talents on his mind; and study had put him into possession of knowledge. In him a solid judgment was combined with profound penetration. An exquisite taste in every department of literature, with a vast and retentive memory: and a fertile genius, with an indefatigable ardour for application. To these gifts of *nature*, let us add those of *grace*: a sincere and intelligent

piety; an ardent and insatiable thirst after truth; an unbounded love to mankind, and the most scrupulous fidelity in the discharge of every duty imposed by religion; a contempt of honour, and detachment from perishing riches; the love of solitude even in the midst of the pomps of a court; and, to sum up the whole, a pure, exemplary, and irreproachable life." Such, truly, was the Abbé Fleury, in the estimation of his *learned associates*; and such the *serious reader* will perceive him to be in every page of the following inestimable work.

Besides the "Manners of the Israelites," and the "Manners of the primitive Christians," the Abbé Fleury published many other works, the principal of which is his *Ecclesiastical History*, 20 vols. 12mo. or 13, 4to. the first volume of which was published in 1691, and the last in 1732: it takes in the history of the church from the birth of our LORD to the year 1414. The author designed to have brought it down to his own times; but was prevented by his death, which took place the following year. It was long well received by the public, and is in general a truly excellent work: but it is now become almost obsolete, the public having decided in favour of similar works, perhaps a little more accurate in some dates and facts, but much less *spiritual*, and consequently better adapted to the depraved reigning taste of the times.

His *Historical Catechism*, published first in 1683, 12mo, is also a very valuable work: it has gone through various editions, and has been translated into several languages. All his smaller works, which contain about *forty* different treatises, have been collected into 5 vols. 8vo. and published at Nismes, 1780, under the title *Opuscules de M. L'Abbé Fleury, Prieur d'Argenteuil, et Confesseur du Roi Louis XV.* This edition was printed to accompany a new edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, published at the same place in 25 vols. 8vo.

Great, pious, and useful as the Abbé Fleury was in his life, his name would have long since been extinct, had he

left no writings behind him: by these his memory has been embalmed, and his fame is become imperishable. Every new edition is, so to speak, a resurrection of this learned man; and by the diffusion of his works he, who was during his lifetime necessarily confined in courts among the great, becomes introduced to every department of society, teaching piety to GOD and benevolence to men, by his most excellent precepts and amiable spirit.

It is to be lamented that no account has been given to the public of the religious experience of this eminent man, nor of his last moments. As his life was holy and useful, his end must have been *peace:* thus far we may safely conjecture. The testimonies of his contemporaries speak much for him; and his unspotted life confirms all that his warmest friends have said of his sincere and unaffected piety. His religion was such as to emit a steady and brilliant light in the midst of a court which at that time had attained the acme of worldly glory. Yet even *there*, the man of GOD was distinguished; and all were obliged to own, that the glory of that kingdom which is not of this world infinitely exceeds all the splendors which can possibly adorn the most illustrious kingdoms of the universe.

Reader, give GOD the glory due to His name for the light which, in His eternal mercy, He has caused to shine in a *dark place*, as a testimony to His power and goodness: and let this example encourage thee to confess thy LORD amidst a crooked and perverse generation, among whom, if thou be not wanting to thyself, thou mayest shine as a light in the world.

THE

MANNERS OF THE ISRAELITES.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

The Design of this Treatise.

THE people, whom God chose to preserve the true religion till the promulgation of the Gospel, are an excellent model of that way of living, which is most conformable to nature. We see in their customs the most rational method of subsisting, employing one's self, and living in society; and from thence may learn not only lessons of morality, but rules for our conduct both in public and in private life.

Yet these customs are so different from our own, that at first sight they offend us. We do not see, among the Israelites, those titles of nobility, that multitude of employments, or diversity of conditions, which are to be found among us. They are only husbandmen and shepherds, all working with their own hands; all married, and

looking upon a great number of children as the most valuable blessing. The distinction of meats, of clean and unclean animals, with their frequent purifications, seem to us as so many troublesome ceremonies: and their bloody sacrifices quite disgust us. We observe, moreover, that this people were prone to idolatry; and, for that reason, are often reproached in Scripture for their perverseness and hardness of heart, and by the fathers of the church for being stupid and carnally minded. All this, joined to a general prejudice, that what is most antient is always most imperfect, easily influences us to believe, that these men were brutish and ignorant, and that their customs are more worthy of contempt than admiration.*

And this is one reason why the Holy Scriptures, especially those of the Old Testament, are so much neglected, or read to so little purpose. Several well-meaning people, who have not quite got over such prejudices, are discouraged by the outward appearance of these strange customs; and either impute the whole, without distinction, to the

* It would not be difficult to prove that the major part, if not the whole, of the animals, the eating of whose flesh was forbidden under the Mosaic Law, are unfit for the purposes of nutrition. *Blood*, which is so often and so solemnly forbidden, affords a most gross and innutritive aliment. The laws relative to lepers and other infected persons, and those which forbad contact with dead or putrid carcases, were wisely ordered to prevent the reception and diffusion of contagion. Their frequent washings and bathings also had the most direct tendency to promote health, and insure a long and comfortable life.

imperfection of the old law; or imagine that some mysteries, beyond their comprehension, are concealed under these external appearances. Others, for want of faith, or uprightness of heart, are tempted, upon such pretences, to despise the Scripture itself, as if full of mean and trivial matters; or draw wrong conclusions from it to countenance their own vices.

But, upon comparing the manners of the Israelites with those of the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, and other people of former ages, which we hold in the highest veneration, these prejudices soon vanish. We observe a noble simplicity in them, greatly preferable to all refinements; that the Israelites had every thing that was valuable in the customs of their contemporaries, without many of their defects; and a great advantage over them in understanding (what ought to be our chief aim in this life) the nature of that true religion, which is the foundation of morality.

We must learn then to distinguish what is only offensive to us in their customs, from what is really blame-worthy; what we do not like, upon account of the distance of times and places, though it be itself indifferent, from that which, being good in itself, displeases for no other reason, than because we are corrupt in our manners. For most of the difference betwixt us and them does not proceed from our being more enlightened by Christianity, but from our being less guided by reason. The Christian religion did not introduce this great inequality of conditions, this disdain of labour, this eagerness

for diversion, this authority of women and young people, this aversion from a simple and frugal life, which make us differ so much from the ancients. It would have been much easier to have made good Christians of those shepherds and ploughmen whom we see in their history, than of our courtiers, lawyers, or farmers of the revenue, and many others that spend their lives in an idle and discontented poverty.

Let it be observed, that I do not pretend to make a panegyric upon this people; but to give a very plain account, like that of travellers, who have seen far distant countries. I shall describe what is good, bad, or indifferent, just as it is; and only desire the reader to divest himself of all prejudice, that he may judge of these customs by good sense and right reason alone; to discard the ideas that are peculiar to his own age and country, and consider the Israelites in the circumstances of time and place wherein they lived; to compare them with their nearest neighbours, and by that means to enter into their spirit and maxims. We must, indeed, be entire strangers to history, not to see the great difference which distance of time and place occasions in people's manners. We inhabit the same country which the antient Britons, and afterwards the Romans, dwelt in: and yet, how much do we vary from both in their way of living; nay, even from that of our own countrymen, who lived seven or eight hundred years ago?[a] And at present

[a] Who would imagine that the present inhabitants of Great Britain, who spend so much time and money in unmeaning,

what likeness is there between our customs and those of the Turks, Indians, and Chinese? If then we consider these two sorts of distances together, we shall be so far from being astonished, that they who lived in Palestine three thousand years ago had customs different from ours, that we shall rather wonder if we find any thing in them alike.

We must not imagine, however, that these changes are regular, and always come on in the same space of time. Countries that are very near each other often differ widely in their religion and politics; as, at this day, Spain and Africa, which, under the Roman empire, had the same customs. On the contrary, there is now a great resemblance betwixt those of Spain and Germany, though there was then none. The same holds good in respect to the difference of times. They that are not acquainted with history having heard it said that the people of former ages were more *simple* than we, suppose the world is always growing more *polite;* and that the farther any one looks back into antiquity, the more stupid and ignorant he will find mankind to have been.

But it is not really so in countries that have been inhabited successively by different people: the re-

useless, and ridiculous modes of *dress*, are the descendants of a race of people, who in the very same climate and land went almost *naked*, not only during the scorching heats of summer, but also through the chilling blasts of winter? And yet were more healthy, vigorous and robust, than their present degenerate offspring.

volutions that have happened there have always, from time to time, introduced misery and ignorance, after prosperity and good manners. So Italy is now in a much better condition than it was eight hundred years ago. But eight hundred years before that, under the first Cæsars, it was happier, and in a more prosperous state, than it is at present. It is true, if we go back eight hundred years more, near the time that Rome was founded, the same Italy will appear much poorer and less polished, though at that time very populous: and still the higher we ascend, it will seem more wretched and uncultivated. Nations have their periods of duration, like particular men. The most flourishing state of the *Greeks* was under *Alexander;* of the *Romans,* under *Augustus;* and of the *Israelites,* under *Solomon.*

We ought therefore to distinguish in every people their *beginning,* their *greatest prosperity,* and their *declension.* In this manner I shall consider the Israelites, during all that space of time that they were a people, from the calling of Abraham to the last destruction of Jerusalem. It contains more than two thousand years, which I shall divide into *three periods,* according to the *three* different states of this people. The *first* of the *Patriarchs;* the *second* of the *Israelites,* from their going out of Egypt to the Babylonish captivity; and the *third* of the *Jews,* after they returned from captivity to the promulgation of the Gospel.

CHAP. II.

Of the Patriarchs.[a]—*Their Nobility.*

THE Patriarchs lived after a noble manner, in perfect freedom and great plenty, notwithstanding their way of living was plain and laborious. Abraham knew the whole succession of his ancestors; and no way lessened his nobility, since he married into his own family. He took care to provide a wife of the same race for his son, in whom were fulfilled all the promises that GOD had made to him: and Isaac taught Jacob to observe the same law.

The long lives of the fathers gave them an opportunity of educating their children well, and of

[a] Patriarch, from the Greek πατριαρχης, which literally signifies the *chief*, or *head* of a *family*. The term is applied properly to the progenitors of the Jewish people; and especially to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve sons of the latter. The patriarchal government existed in the fathers of families, and their first-born sons after them; and included the *regal* and *sacerdotal* authority, and not unfrequently the *prophetic*. This authority, which every first-born son exercised over all the widely extended branches of a numerous family, is termed in Scripture the *birth-right*. The *patriarchal dispensation* includes all the time from the creation of the world till the giving of the Law. The Patriarchs are divided into classes, the *Antediluvian* and *Postdiluvian*: to the former belong Adam, Seth, Enosh, &c.; to the latter, Abram, Isaac, Jacob, &c.

making them serious and considerate betimes. Abraham lived more than a hundred years with Shem, and no doubt learned from him the state of the world before the deluge. He never left his father Terah; and was at least seventy years old when he lost him. Isaac was seventy-five when Abraham died; and, as far as we know, never went from him all that time.[b] It was the same with respect to the other Patriarchs. Living so long with their fathers, they had the benefit of their experience and inventions. They prosecuted their designs, adhered firmly to their maxims, and became constant and uniform in their conduct. For it was a difficult matter to change what had been settled by men who were still alive; especially as the old men kept up their authority, not only over the youth, but also the elders that were not so old as themselves.

The remembrance of things past might be easily preserved by the bare relation of old men, who naturally love to tell stories of antient times, and had so much leisure for it. By this means they had no great use for writing; and it is certain we find no mention of it before Moses. However difficult it may seem to conceive that so many calculations as he recites should have been preserved in the me-

[b] The author here follows the chronology of Archbishop Ussher, who supposes that Shem did not die till 150 years after the birth of Abraham. But Ussher leaves the second Cainan out of his chronology, whom the Septuagint and St. Luke place between Arphaxad and Salah. This second Cainan throws the birth of Abraham much farther forward.

mory of men, as the ages of all the Patriarchs,[c] the exact dates of the beginning and end of the Flood,[d] the dimensions of the Ark,[e] &c.; yet there is no necessity for recurring to miracle and revelation. For it is probable that writing was found out before the deluge; as we are sure musical instruments were, though not so necessary.[f] But though Moses might have learned, in the common way, most of the facts which he has written, I believe, nevertheless, that he was influenced by the Holy Spirit to record these facts, rather than others, and express them in terms most proper for the purpose.

Besides, the Patriarchs took care to preserve the memory of considerable events by setting up altars and pillars, and other lasting monuments. Thus, Abraham erected altars in the different places where GOD had appeared to him.[g] Jacob consecrated the stone which served him for a pillow while he had the mysterious dream of the ladder;[h] and the heap of stones, which was witness to his covenant with Laban, he called Galeed.[i] Of this kind was the sepulchre of Rachel; the well called Beersheba;[k] and all the other wells mentioned in the history of Isaac. Sometimes they gave new names to places. The Greeks and Romans relate the same of their heroes, the oldest of whom lived near the times of the Patriarchs.[l] Greece was

[c] Gen. v.
[d] Gen. vii. 11, viii. 13.
[e] Gen. vi. 15.
[f] Gen. iv. 21.
[g] Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 18.
[h] Gen. xxviii. 18.
[i] Gen. xxxi. 48.
[k] Gen. xxvi. 33.
[l] Pausan. *passim*. Dion. Hal. lib. 1.

full of their monuments: Æneas, to mention no others, left some in every place that he passed through in Greece, Sicily, and Italy.[m]

The very names of the Patriarchs were besides a sort of more simple and familiar monuments. They signified some remarkable circumstance of their birth, or particular favour received from God. So they were in effect a short history.[n] For they took care to explain the *reason* of these names to their children, and it was hardly possible to pronounce them without refreshing the memory with it. This care for posterity, and providence for the future, was an argument of true generosity and greatness of mind.

The Patriarchs enjoyed perfect freedom; and their family was a little state, of which the father was, in a manner, king. For what did Abraham

[m] Virgil. Æneid. *passim.*

[n] Such for instance as ABRAM, from אב ab, a *father*, and רם ram, *high;* called afterwards Abraham, אברהם *a father of multitudes*, the ה being inserted before ם; for המם ham, is a contraction for המון hamon, a *multitude.*

PELEG, from פלג palag, *he divided; for in his days*, says the text, Gen. x. 2, the *earth* (נפלגה nipilogah) *was divided.*

MANASSES, the son of Joseph, signifies *forgetting*, from נשה nashah, *he was forgetful;* for, said he, (Gen. xli. 51.) *God hath made me forget* (נשני nashshani) *all my labours, and my father's house.*

EPHRAIM, *fruitful*, from פרה pharah, *he was fruitful;* for, said Joseph his father, הפרני hiphrani, *God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction.* Gen. xli. 51, 52.

JOSEPH, *addition*, or *increase*, from יסף Yasaph, he *added*, or *increased;* because, said his mother, יסף יהוה Yoseph Jehovah, *the Lord shall add to me* another son. Gen. xxx. 25.

want of the power of sovereigns, but their vain titles and inconvenient ceremonies? He was subject to nobody; kings concluded alliances with him: he made war and peace when he pleased. Princes sought the alliance of Isaac.[o] Ishmael, Jacob, and Esau, were likewise independent. We must not then suffer ourselves to be misled by names; nor think Abraham inferior to Amraphel or Abimelech, because the Scripture does not call him king as well as them. He was certainly equal to one of those four kings, whom he defeated with his domestic forces, and the assistance of his three allies.[p] The greatest difference was, that he did not shut himself up within walls as they did, and that his whole family followed him to any place whither he had a mind to move his tents. All authentic history testifies that kingdoms were very small, even in the east, at that early period; and we find them so in other countries a great while after.

CHAP. III.

Their Riches and Employments.

THE riches of the Patriarchs consisted chiefly in cattle. Abraham must have had a vast stock when he was obliged to part from his nephew Lot, be-

[o] Gen. xxvi. 26—28. [p] Gen. xiv. 14, 15.

cause *the land was not able to bear them* together.[a] Jacob had a great number when he came back from Mesopotamia, since the present that he made to his brother Esau was *five hundred and eighty* head of different sorts.[b] From which we may likewise learn what sort of beasts they bred, *viz.* goats, sheep, camels, horned cattle, and asses. There were no horses nor swine among them. It was such plenty of cattle which made them set so great a value upon wells and cisterns, in a country where there was no river but Jordan, and rain very seldom.

They had *slaves* too: and Abraham must have had abundance of them, since he armed three hundred and eighteen men of those that were born in his house, and trained up by himself.[c] In proportion, he must have had plenty of *children, old men, women* and *slaves,* that were bought with money. When he returned from Egypt, it is said he was rich in gold and silver.[d] The bracelets and ear-rings, which his servant Eliezer made a present of to Rebecca from his master, weighed six ounces of gold;[e] and the purchase of his burying-place shews that money was in use at that time.[f] We see likewise that perfumes and costly raiment were made use of,[g] by Esau's clothes, which Jacob wore to obtain his father's blessing.

[a] Gen. xiii. 6.
[b] Gen. xxxii. 13—15
[c] Gen. xiv. 14.
[d] Gen. xiii. 2.
[e] Gen. xxiv. 22.
[f] Gen. xxiii. 16.
[g] Gen. xxvii. 27. But does not this rather intimate that odoriferous plants or herbs were laid up with the clothes in the chests or coffers where they were kept? A custom that prevails among the inhabitants of some countries to the present day.

With all their riches they were very laborious, always in the field, lying under tents, shifting their abode according to the convenience of pasture, and consequently often taken up with encamping and decamping, and frequently upon the march; for they could make but short days' journies with so numerous an attendance. Not but that they might have built towns as well as their countrymen; but they chose this way of living. It is without doubt the most ancient, since it is easier to set up tents than to build houses; and has always been reckoned the most perfect, as attaching men less to this world. Thus the condition of the Patriarchs is best represented, who lived here only as sojourners waiting for the promises of God,[h] which were not to be accomplished till after their death. The first cities that are mentioned were built by wicked men.[i] Cain and Nimrod were the first that erected walls and fortifications to secure themselves from the punishment due to their crimes, and to give them an opportunity of committing fresh ones with impunity.[k] Good men lived in the open air, having nothing to make them afraid.

The chief employment of the Patriarchs was the care of their cattle; their whole history shews it, and the plain account which the sons of Jacob gave of themselves to the king of Egypt.[l]— Though husbandry be very ancient, the pastoral

[h] Heb. xi. 9, 13.
[i] Gen. iv. 17.
[k] Gen. x. 10.
[l] Gen. xlvii. 3.

life is the more perfect. The first, the employment of Cain; the other, that of Abel.[m] The pastoral life has something in it more simple and noble; it is laborious, attaches one less to the world, and yet more profitable. The elder Cato[n] preferred a stock of *cattle*, though but a moderate one, to *tillage*, which yet he thought better than any other way of improving his fortune.

The just reprimand which Jacob gave to Laban shews that the patriarchs laboured hard at their work, and did at no time neglect it. *I have served thee twenty years*, says he: *in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from mine eyes.*[o] One may judge of the men's laborious way of living by that of the young women. Rebecca came a good way off to draw water, and carried it upon her shoulders;[p] and Rachel herself kept her father's flock.[q] Neither their nobility nor beauty made them so delicate as to scruple it. This primeval simplicity was long retained amongst the Greeks, whose good breeding we yet admire with so much reason. Homer affords us examples of it throughout his works, and *Pastorals* have no other foundation. It is certain that in Syria, Greece, and Sicily, there were persons of eminence who made it their sole occupation to breed cattle for more than *one thousand five hundred* years after the Patriarchs; and who, in

[m] Gen. iv. 2.
[n] De Re Rustic. in init.
[o] Gen. xxxi. 40.
[p] Gen. xxiv. 15.
[q] Gen. xxix. 9.

the great leisure that sort of life afforded, and the good humour those delightful countries inspired them with, composed several little pieces of poetry, still extant, of inimitable beauty and simplicity.

CHAP. IV.

Their Frugality.

THE Patriarchs were not at all nice in their eating or other necessaries of life; we may judge of their common food by the pottage of lentiles that Jacob had prepared, which tempted Esau to sell his birthright.[a] But we have an instance of a splendid entertainment in that which Abraham made for the three angels.[b] He set a *calf* before them; new *bread*, but baked upon the hearth; together with *butter* and *milk*. It seems they had some sort of *made dishes*, by that which Rebecca cooked for Isaac; but his great age may excuse this delicacy. This dish was made of two *kids*.[c] Abraham dressed a whole *calf* for the angels, and *three measures of meal* made into bread, which comes to more than *two* of our bushels, and nearly to *fifty-six pounds* of our weight: whence we may conclude they were great eaters, used much exercise,

[a] Gen. xxv. 29, 34.
[b] Gen. xviii. 6.
[c] Gen. xxvii. 9.

and were perhaps of a larger stature, as well as longer lives, than we. The Greeks seem to think that the men of the heroic ages were of great stature; and Homer makes them great eaters. When Eumæus[d] entertained Ulysses, he dressed two pigs, probably young ones, for himself and his guest;[e] and, on another occasion, a hog of five years old for five persons.[f]

Homer's heroes wait upon themselves in the common occasions of life: and we see the Patriarchs do the same. Abraham, who had so many servants, and was nearly a hundred years old, brought the water himself to wash the feet of his Divine guests, ordered his wife to make the bread quickly, went himself to choose the meat, and came again to serve them standing.[g] I will allow that he was animated upon this occasion with a desire

[d] Odyss. xiv. l. 74. Ib. l. 419.

[e] So saying, he girded quick his tunic close,
And issuing, sought the styes; thence bringing *two*
Of the imprisoned herd, he slaughter'd *both*,
Singed them, and slashed and spitted them, and placed
The whole well roasted, banquets, spits and all,
Reeking before Ulysses. COWPER.

[f] .... his wood for fuel he prepared,
And, dragging thither a well-fatted brawn
Of the *fifth* year, his servants held him fast
At the hearth-side.
Then with an oaken shive which he had left
Beside the fire, he smote him, and he fell.
Next, piercing him, and scorching close his hair,
The joints they parted, &c. COWPER.

[g] Gen. xviii. 4.

of shewing hospitality: but all the rest of their lives was of a piece with it. Their servants were to assist them, but not so as to exempt them from working themselves. In fact, who could have obliged Jacob, when he went into Mesopotamia, to travel a journey of more than two hundred leagues (for it was at least so far from Beersheba to Haran) alone and on foot, with only a staff in his hand?[h] what, I say, could oblige him to it; but his own commendable plainness and love of toil? Thus he rests where night overtakes him, and lays a stone under his head instead of a pillow. And although he was so tenderly fond of Joseph, he does not scruple sending him alone from Hebron to seek his brethren at Sichem, which was a long day's journey; and when Joseph does not find them there, he goes on to Dothan, more than a day's journey further,[i] and all this when he was but sixteen years old.

It was this *plain* and *laborious* way of life, no doubt, that made them attain to such a great old age, and die so calmly. Both Abraham and Isaac lived nearly two hundred years. The other Patriarchs, whose age is come to our knowledge, exceeded a hundred at least; and we do not hear that they were ever *sick* during so long a life. *He gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, full of days,* is the manner in which the Scripture describes their death.[k] The first time we read

[h] Gen. xxxii. 10.
[i] Gen. xxxvii. 15, 17.
[k] Gen. xxv. 8.

of *physicians* is, when it is said, that Joseph commanded his domestics to embalm the body of his father[l]. This was in Egypt; and many have ascribed the invention of physic to the Egyptians.[m]

The *moderation* of the Patriarchs with regard to *wives* is no less to be admired, when we consider, 1st, they were allowed to have several; and, 2dly, their desire of a numerous posterity. Abraham, whom God had promised to make the father of an innumerable people, though he had a *barren wife*, was so far from thinking of taking *another*, that he had made a resolution of leaving his substance to the steward of his house.[n] He did not take a *second* till he was *eighty-six* years old, and it was his *own wife* who gave her to him.[o] We must not say that he was still young with respect to his life, which was a *hundred seventy-five years* long; because *thirteen years* after he and Sarah, who was *ten years* younger, are called old, and laughed at it as an incredible thing, when God promised them a son.[p] As old as Abraham was, and as desirous, as we may suppose him, to see the children of Isaac, he did not marry him till he was forty years old;[q] and though Rebecca had no child

[l] Gen. l. 2. [m] Aug. de Civ. Dei, xvi. 25. [n] Gen. xv. 2.

[o] Gen. xvi. 2. The *handmaids*, as they are termed, were a sort of slaves, one of which was usually given by a father to his daughter on her marriage: hence they were considered the unalienable property of their mistresses, who claimed not only the fruit of their labour, but also the very children they bore. See above, and also chap. xxix. 24, 29.

[p] Gen. xviii. 11. [q] Gen. xxv. 20.

for *twenty years*, and never but *two*, and those at one birth,[r] Isaac had no other wife.

It is true, Jacob had two wives at the same time, and as many concubines; but it is fit we should consider the reason of it. He staid till he was *seventy-seven* with his father, waiting for the important blessing which he had a right to by the resignation of his brother. At that age he thought of marrying; and asked for Rachel, but did not obtain her till he had served seven years.[s] At last then he married at *eighty-four*.[t] They gave him Leah against his will; and he kept her, that she might not be disgraced. But as he might have more wives than one, or marry two sisters, without the breach of any law then existing, he took *her* too that he had first engaged to wed.[u] When she found herself barren, she gave her husband a handmaid that she might have children by her. This was a sort of adoption practised at that time: and her sister did the same, that the family might be increased. From all which St. Augustin draws this conclusion: *We do not read that Jacob desired any more than one wife, or made use of more, without strictly observing the rules of conjugal chastity.*[x]

[r] Gen. xxv. 21, &c. [s] Gen. xxix. 20.

[t] When Joseph appeared before Pharaoh, he was *thirty* years of age, Gen. xli. 46, at which time his father was 121; for when he appeared before Pharaoh he was 130 years old, Gen. xlvii. 9. and *nine* years had elapsed from the time Joseph was presented to Pharaoh till the time that Jacob and his family came into Egypt, *viz.* seven years of plenty and two of famine; consequently, Jacob was 91 years old when Joseph was born.—August. De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 4.

[u] Gen. xxix. 30. [x] De Civ. Dei, xvi. 25, 38.

We must not imagine he had other wives before; for why should the last only be mentioned?

And yet I do not undertake to justify all the Patriarchs in this point. The story of Judah and his sons affords but too many examples of the contrary.[y] I would only shew that we cannot, with justice, accuse those of incontinence whom the Scripture reckons holy. For, with regard to the rest of mankind, they were from that time very much corrupted. Such then, in general, was the first state of God's people. An entire freedom, without any government but that of a father, who was an absolute monarch in his own family. A life very natural and easy, through a great abundance of necessaries, and an utter contempt of superfluities; through an honest labour, accompanied with care and frugality, without anxiety or ambition.

Let us now proceed to the *second period:* which is, that of the Israelites from their coming out of Egypt to the Babylonish captivity. It lasted more than *nine hundred years,* and most of the Sacred Writings relate to it.

[y] Gen. xxxviii.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The Israelites.—Their Nobility.

THOUGH the people were already very numerous, they were still called *the children of Israel,* as *if* they had been but one family; in the same manner as they said, *the children of Edom, the children of Moab, &c.* Indeed all these people were still distinct: they knew their own origin, and took a pride in preserving the name of their author. Thence probably it comes that the name of *children* signified, with the antients, a nation, or certain sort of people. Homer often says, *the children of the Greeks,* and *the children of the Trojans.* The Greeks used to say, *the children of the physicians, and grammarians.* With the Hebrews, *the children of the east,* are the eastern people; *the children of Belial,* the wicked; *the children of men,* or *Adam,* mankind. And in the Gospel we often see *the children of this world—of darkness, and of light*—and also, *the children of the bridegroom,* for those that go along with him to his wedding.

The Israelites were divided into twelve tribes.[a] There was the same number of the Ishmaelites,[b] and as many of the Persians.[c] The people of Athens were at first composed of four tribes; afterwards divided into ten, to which they gave the names of ten heroes, who for this reason were called *Eponymi*, and whose statues were set up in the public Exchange.[d] The Roman people were also distributed into *three* or *four* tribes, which increased to *thirty-five*. The names of them are still upon record. But these Athenian and Roman tribes were made up of different families, collected together to keep order in their assemblies and elections: whereas those of the Israelites were naturally distinct, and were only *twelve* large families descended from *twelve brothers*.

They were very exact in keeping their genealogies; and knew all the succession of their ancestors, as high as the patriarch of their tribe, from whom it is easy going back to the first man. Thus they were really *brethren*, that is to say, *kinsmen*, according to the eastern language; and of genuine nobility, if ever there was such a thing in the world.

They had preserved the purity of their families, by taking care, as their fathers did, not to marry with the nations descended from Canaan, who

[a] Gen. xlix. 1—28. [b] Gen. xxv. 13—61.

[c] Xenoph. Cyrop. p. 5. Edit. Steph. 1581.

[d] Demosth. in Timocr. in Leptin. et ibi Ulpian, Επωνυμοι, Ηρωες.

were under a curse.[e] For we do not find that the patriarchs avoided matches with any other people, or that they were expressly forbidden by the law to marry with them. Their families were fixed and attached by the same law to certain lands, on which they were obliged to live during the space of the nine hundred years I have mentioned. Should we not esteem that family very noble indeed, that could shew as long a succession of generations, without any disgraceful weddings in it, or change of mansion? Few noblemen in Europe can prove so much.

What deceives us in this respect is, our not seeing *titles* among the Israelites like those of our nobility. Every one was called plainly by his own name; but their names signified great things, as those of the Patriarchs. The name of God was part of most; which was, in a manner, a short prayer. *Elijah* and *Joel* are made up of two of God's names joined in a different way;[f] Jehosaphat and Sephatiah signify the *judgment of God;* Jehozadak and Zedekiah, *His justice;* Johanan, or John, the son of Hananiah, *His mercy;* Nathanael, Elnathan, Jonathan, and Nethaniah, all four signify, *God given,* or *the gift of God.* Some-

[e] Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3.

[f] ELIJAH, in Hebrew אליהו Eliyahu, a contraction of אלי יה הוא *Jehovah he is my strong God.*

JOEL יואל signifies *willing,* or *acquiescing,* from יאל yaal, *he willed,* and is not compounded of יה yah, Jehovah; and אל El, *the strong God,* as the Abbé seems to have supposed.

times the name of God was understood, as in Nathan, David, Obed, Uzzah, Ezra or Esdras: as is plain by Eliezer, *God my helper;* Uzziel, *God my strength;* and Obadiah, *the Lord's servant;* where it is expressed. Some of their names were mysterious and prophetical, as that of Joshua or Jesus, *Saviour;* and those which Hosea and Isaiah gave their children by the order of God.[g] Other names shewed the piety of their fathers; and we may see instances of it in the names of David's brethren and children.[h]

Such are the names which appear so barbarous to us, for want of understanding the Hebrew tongue. Are they not full as significant as those of castles and towns, which our nobility assume? The Greek names, whose sound we are so fond of, are of the same import. Many are composed of the names of their gods; as *Diodorus, Diogenes, Hermodorus, Hephæstion, Athenais, Artemisia.* But several are derived from their love of exercise, particularly of riding, as *Philip, Damasippus* or *Hippodamus, Hegesippus, Hippomedon,* &c.[i]

They often added the father's name, either for

[g] Hosea i. 4. Isaiah viii. 3. [h] 1 Chron. ii. 13. iii. 1.

[i] Diodorus, του Διος δωρον, *the gift of Jupiter.*
Diogenes, γενος του Διος, *born of Jupiter.*
Hermodorus, from Ερμης and δωρον, *the gift of Mercury.*
Hephæstion, *Vulcan.*—Athenais, *Minerva.*—Artemisia, *Diana.*
Philippus, *a lover of horses.* Damasippus, Hippomedon, Hippodamus, *a tamer of horses.* Hegesippus, *chief, or captain of horse.*

distinction or respect's sake, to shew that the father was a man of renown: perhaps Solomon had this custom in his eye, when he said, *the glory of children are their fathers.*[k] Thus we see in Homer, that the Greeks took the paternal name for a mark of honour.[l] Sometimes the mother's name was given for the surname; as when the father had many wives, or when the mother was of the better family. So Joab and his brethren are always called *the sons of Zeruiah,* who was David's sister.[m] If the name of the father was not distinction enough, they added the grandfather's, as *Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan.*[n] And this is the reason of so many names that appear tiresome to us; for they went sometimes as high as the great-grandfather, or higher. Sometimes a surname was taken from the head of a particular branch, from a town, a country, or a nation, if they were originally strangers; as *Uriah the Hittite, Araunah the Jebusite.*

The Greeks had no surnames but what they took from their father or country. The Romans had family names, to which they only added the distinction of some great office or remarkable victory; but in deeds they always set down the father's name. Many of the European nations still retain the same custom; and most of our surnames come

[k] Prov. xvii. 6.

[l] Πατροθεν εκ γενειης ονομαζων ανδρα εκαστον. Iliad x. 68,

"Call every single person by his name,
And add the father's name to grace the son's."

[m] 1 Chron. ii. 16. [n] Jerem. xxxix. 14.

from the proper names of the fathers, which have remained with their children. As to the titles of *lordships,* they are not above seven or eight hundred years old, no more than the lordships themselves. We must not be surprised to see in Scripture *David the son of Jesse,* and *Solomon the son of David,* any more than *Alexander the son of Philip,* and *Ptolemy the son of Lagus,* in Greek authors.

The principal distinction that birth occasioned among the Israelites, was that of the Levites and Priests. The whole tribe of Levi was dedicated to God; and had no inheritance but the tenths and the first fruits, which it received from the other tribes. Of all the Levites, the descendants of Aaron only were priests; the rest were employed in the other functions of religion; in singing psalms, taking care of the tabernacle or temple, and instructing the people. Two of the other tribes were sufficiently distinguished. That of Judah was always the most illustrious, and the most numerous; of which, according to Jacob's prophecy, their kings, and the Messiah himself, were to come.[o] That of Ephraim held the second rank on account of Joseph. Yet the eldest branches and the heads of each family were most esteemed in every tribe: and this made Saul say, surprised with the respect that Samuel paid him, *Am not I of the smallest of the tribes of Israel, and my family the least of all the families of the tribe of Benjamin?*[p]

[o] Gen. xlix. 10.

[p] 1 Sam. ix. 21.

Age too made a great distinction; and the name of *old man* in Scripture generally denotes dignity. Indeed there was nothing but *age* and *experience* that could distinguish men equally noble, and of the same education and employments, and almost equally rich.

CHAP. II.

Their Employments.—Agriculture.

WE do not find any distinct professions among the Israelites: from the eldest of the tribe of Judah to the youngest of that of Benjamin, they were all husbandmen and shepherds, driving their ploughs and watching their flocks themselves. The old man of Gibeah, that lodged the Levite, whose wife was abused, was coming back at night from his work, when he invited him to sojourn with him.[a] Gideon himself was threshing his corn when the angel told him he should deliver his people.[b] Ruth got into the good graces of Boaz by gleaning at his harvest. Saul, though a king, was driving oxen when he received the news of the danger Jabesh Gilead was in.[c] Every body knows that

[a] Judg. xix. 16.
[b] Judg. vi. 11.
[c] 1 Sam. xi. 5.

David was keeping sheep, when Samuel sent to look for him to anoint him king;[d] and he returned to his flock after he had been called to play upon the harp before Saul.[e] After he was king, his sons made a great feast at the shearing of their sheep.[f] Elisha was called to be a prophet as he drove one of his father's twelve ploughs.[g] The child that he brought to life again was with his father at the harvest when it fell sick.[h] And Judith's husband, though very rich, got the illness of which he died on the like occasion.[i] The Scripture abounds with such examples.

This, without doubt, is what most offends those who are not acquainted with antiquity, and have no opinion of any customs but their own. When they hear of ploughmen and shepherds, they figure to themselves a parcel of clownish boors, that lead a slavish miserable life, in poverty and contempt, without courage, without sense or education. They do not consider, that what makes our country-people commonly so wretched is their being slaves to all the rest of mankind: since they work not only for their own maintenance, but to furnish necessaries for all those that live in high and polished life. For it is the countryman that provides for the citizens, the officers of the courts of judicature and treasury, gentlemen, and ecclesiastics; and whatever ways we make use of to turn money

[d] 1 Sam. xvi. 11.
[e] 1 Sam. xvii. 15.
[f] 2 Sam. xiii. 23.
[g] 1 Kings xix. 19.
[h] 2 Kings iv. 18.
[i] Judith vii. 3.

into provisions, or provisions into money, all will end in the fruits of the earth, and those animals that are supported by them. Yet when we compare all these different conditions together, we generally place those that work in the country in the last rank: and most people set a greater value upon *fat idle citizens*, that are *weak*, and *lazy*, and *good for nothing*, because, being richer, they live more luxuriously, and at their ease.

But if we imagine a country, where the difference of conditions is not so great, where to live genteelly is not to live without doing any thing at all, but carefully to preserve one's liberty, which consists in being subject to nothing but the laws and public authority; where the inhabitants subsist upon their own stock, without depending upon any body, and are content with a little, rather than do a mean thing to grow rich; a country where idleness, effeminacy, and ignorance of what is necessary for the support of life, are discountenanced, and where pleasure is in less esteem than health and strength; in such a country it would be more creditable to plow, or keep a flock, than to follow diversions, and idle away the whole of a man's time. Now there is no necessity for having any recourse to Plato's commonwealth to find men of this character; for so lived the greatest part of mankind for nearly four thousand years.

To begin with what we are best acquainted with. Of this sort were the maxims of the Greeks and Romans. We see every where in Homer, kings and princes living upon the fruits of their

lands and their flocks, and working with their own hands.[k] Hesiod has written a poem on purpose to recommend husbandry as the only creditable means of subsisting and improving one's fortune; and finds fault with his brother, to whom he addresses it, for living at other people's expence, by *pleading causes*, and following affairs of that kind.[l] He reckons this employment, which is the sole occupation of so many amongst us, no better than idleness. We see by Xenophon's Œconomics that the Greeks had no way lessened their opinion of husbandry, when they were at the highest pitch of politeness.

We must not therefore impute the fondness of the Romans for husbandry to stupidity and want of letters: it is rather a sign of their good sense. As all men are born with limbs and bodies fit for labour, they thought every one ought to make use of them; and that they could not do it to better purpose than in making the earth afford them a certain maintenance and innocent plenty. It was not, however, covetousness that recommended it to them; since the same Romans despised gold, and the presents of strangers. Nor was it want of courage and bravery; since at that very time they subdued all Italy, and raised those powerful armies with which they afterwards conquered the whole world. On the contrary, the painful and frugal

[k] See the Iliad and Odyssey, *passim*.

[l] *Hesiodi opera et Dies*, lib. i. v. 26. Hesiod flourished about 876 years before the Christian æra; and was the first poet who employed his pen in praise of agriculture.

life they led in the country was the chief reason of their great strength, making their bodies robust by inuring them to labour, and accustoming them to severe discipline. Whoever is acquainted with the life of Cato the Censor cannot suspect him of a low way of thinking, or of meanness of spirit; yet that great man, who had gone through all the offices in the commonwealth when it flourished most, who had governed provinces and commanded armies; that great orator, lawyer, and politician, did not think it beneath him to write of the various ways of managing lands and vines, the method of building stables for different sorts of beasts, and a press for wine or oil: and all this in the most circumstantial manner; so that, we see, he understood it perfectly, and did not write out of ostentation or vain-glory, but for the benefit of mankind.[m]

Let us then frankly own that our contempt of husbandry is not founded upon any solid reason; since this occupation is no way inconsistent with courage, or any other virtue that is necessary either in peace or war, or even with true politeness. Whence then does it proceed? I will endeavour to shew the real cause. It comes only from use, and the old customs of our own country. The Franks, and other people of Germany, lived in countries that were covered with forests; they had neither corn nor wine, nor any good fruits; so that they were obliged to live by hunting, as the savages still do in the cold countries of America.

[m] See his work *De Re Rusticâ.*

After they had crossed the Rhine, and settled on better lands, they were ready enough to take the advantages that result from agriculture, arts, and trade; but would not apply *themselves* to any of them. They left this occupation to the Romans whom they had subdued; and continued in their ancient ignorance, which time seemed to have made venerable; and attached such an idea of nobility to it, as we have still much ado to abandon.

But in the same degree that they lessened the esteem for agriculture, they brought hunting into credit, of which the antients made but little account. They held it in the highest repute, and advanced it to very great perfection, sparing neither pains nor expence. This has been generally the employment of the nobility. Yet, to consider things in a true light, the labour spent in tilling the ground, and rearing tame creatures, answers at least as well as that which only aims at catching wild beasts, often at the expence of tillage. The moderate pains of one that has the care of a great number of cattle and poultry is, surely, as eligible as the violent and unequal exercise of a hunter; and oxen and sheep are at least as useful for our support as dogs and horses. It may well therefore be asserted, that our customs, in this point, are not as agreeable to reason as those of the antients.[n]

[n] This relict of antient barbarism is continued among us in full vigour; and without any kind of reason to vindicate the practice. By it our Gothic ancestors provided for their sus-

Besides, the *Greeks* and *Romans* were not the only people that esteemed agriculture as the Hebrews did: the *Carthaginians*, who were originally Phœnicians, studied it much, as appears by the twenty-eight books which Mago wrote upon that subject.[o] The *Egyptians* had such a reverence for it, as even to adore the creatures that were of use in it. The *Persians*, in the height of their power, had overseers in every province to look after the tillage of the ground. Cyrus the younger delighted in planting and cultivating a garden with his own hands.[p] As to the *Chaldeans*, we cannot doubt of their being well skilled in husbandry, if we reflect upon the fruitfulness of the plains of Babylon, which produced two or three hundred grains for one.[q] In a word, the history of China teaches us, that agriculture was also in high esteem among them in the most antient and best

tenance: but their descendants use it as a species of *pleasure*, without being impelled to it by any kind of *necessity*. Often the peaceable inhabitants of a whole country are thrown into confusion by vast numbers of dogs and horsemen breaking through their enclosures, and destroying the hopes of their agricultural toil. And all this to run a poor *timid* helpless animal out of breath! Is not such a practice as this as disgraceful to humanity as it is to common sense? Should not the farmers every where make this unprincipled species of trespass an object of common concern, and prosecute all such marauding spoilers.

[o] Varro's Preface. [p] Xenoph. Œcon.

[q] Τον δε της Δημητρος καρπον ωδε αγαθη εκφερειν εϛι, ωϛε επι διηκοσιαις επι τριηκασια εκφερει. Herodot. Clio, p. 89. Edit. Steph. 1592.

times. Nothing but the tyranny of the northern nations has made it so generally disesteemed.

Let us then divest ourselves of the mean opinion we have conceived of it from our infancy. Instead of our villages, where we see on one side castles and houses of pleasure, and on the other miserable huts and cottages, let us imagine we saw those spacious farms which the Romans called VILLAS, that contained an apartment for the master, an inner yard for poultry, barns, stables, and servants' houses; and all this in exact proportion, well built, kept in good repair, and exceedingly clean. We may see descriptions of them in *Varro* and *Columella*. Their slaves were most of them happier than our country-people, well fed, well clothed, and without any care upon their hands for the sustenance of their families. The masters, frugal as they were, lived more to their satisfaction than our gentry. We read in Xenophon of an Athenian citizen, who, taking a walk every morning into the fields to look after his workmen, at the same time promoted his health by the exercise of his body, and increased his substance by his diligence to make the most of it.[r] So that he was rich enough to give liberally to religious uses, the service of his friends, and country. Tully mentions several farmers in Sicily, so rich and magnificent, as to have their houses furnished with statues of great value, and were possessed of gold and silver plate of chaced work.[s]

[r] *Xenoph.* Œcon. and *Cic.* Cato Major, c. 17.

[s] Lib. iv. in Ver. Edit. Lond. 1680, Vol. II. p. 272.

In fine, it must be owned, that as long as the nobility and rich men of a country were not above this most antient of all professions, their lives were more happy, because more conformable to nature. They lived longer, and in better health; their bodies were fitter for the fatigues of war and travelling, and their minds more serious and composed. Being less idle, they were not so tired of themselves, nor so solicitous in refining their pleasures. Labour gave a relish to the smallest diversions. They had fewer evil designs in their heads, and less temptation to put them in execution. Their plain and frugal way of living did not admit of *extravagance*, or occasion their *running into debt*. There were, of consequence, fewer lawsuits, selling up of goods, and families ruined: fewer frauds, outrages, and such other crimes, as real or imaginary poverty makes men commit, when they are not able or willing to work. The worst is, that the example of the rich and noble influences every body else: whoever thrives so as to be never so little above the dregs of the people is ashamed to work, especially at husbandry. Hence come so many shifts to live by one's wits; so many new contrivances as are invented every day, to draw money out of one purse into another. God knows best how innocent all these unnatural ways of living are. They are at least most of them very precarious; whereas the earth will always maintain those that cultivate it, if other people do not take its produce from them.

So far then is the country and laborious life of

the Israelites from making them contemptible, that it is a proof of their wisdom, good education, and resolution to observe the rules of their fathers. They knew the first man was placed in the terrestrial paradise to work there ;[t] and that, after his fall, he was condemned to more laborious and ungrateful toil.[u] They were convinced of those solid truths so often repeated in the books of Solomon: that *Poverty is the fruit of laziness.*[v] That *he who sleeps in summer, instead of minding his harvest, or that plows not in winter for fear of the cold, deserves to beg and have nothing.*[x] That *plenty is the natural consequence of labour and industry.*[y] That *riches, too hastily got, are not blessed.*[z] There we see frugal poverty, with cheerfulness and plainness, preferred to riches and abundance, with strife and insolence ;[a] the inconvenience of the two extremes of poverty and wealth, and the Wise Man's desires, confined to the necessaries of life.[b] He even enters into a minute detail of œconomical precepts: *Prepare thy work,* says he, *without, and make it fit for thyself in the field,* and afterwards *build thine house ;*[c] which is the same with that maxim in Cato, that planting requires not much consideration, but building a great deal.

Now that which goes by the name of *work, business, goods,* in the book of Proverbs, and throughout the whole Scripture, constantly relates

[t] Gen. ii. 15. [u] Gen. iii. 17. [v] Prov. x. 4. 5.
[x] Prov. xx. 4, 13. [y] Prov. xxvii. 18.
[z] Prov. xx. 21. [a] Prov. xvii. 1. xix. 1.
[b] Prov. xxx. 8, 9. [c] Prov. xxiv. 27.

to *country affairs;* it always means lands, vines, oxen and sheep. From thence are borrowed most of the metaphorical expressions. Kings and other chiefs are called *shepherds;* and the people, their *flocks;* and to govern them, is *to find pasture for them.* Thus the Israelites sought their livelihood only from the most natural sources, which are lands and cattle: and from hence all that enriches mankind, whether by manufactures, trade, rents, or trafficking with money, is ultimately derived.[d]

CHAP. III.

The Nature of the Soil.—Its Fruitfulness.

THE Israelites dwelt in the land that was promised to the Patriarchs, which the Scripture often describes as flowing with milk and honey, to express its great fertility. This country, which is so hot in comparison of ours, lies a great way within the temperate zone, between 31 and 33 degrees of northern latitude. It is bounded on the south by very high mountains, that defend it from the scorching winds that blow from the Arabian deserts, and which run as far to the east as they do.

[d] What a blessing would it be to the world, were these times of primitive simplicity and common sense restored to mankind!

The Mediterranean, which bounds it to the west-north-west, supplies it with refreshing breezes; and mount Libanus, that is situated more to the north, intercepts those that are colder. The Mediterranean is what the Scripture commonly calls *The Great Sea;* for the Hebrews knew little of the *ocean,* and gave the name of *seas* to lakes and all great waters. The inland part of the country is varied with a great many mountains and hills proper for vines, fruit-trees, and small cattle; and the vallies abound with streams very necessary to water the country, which has no river but Jordan. Rain falls seldom, but the time of its coming is well regulated: it falls in the spring and autumn; and is therefore called *the early and latter,* or *the evening and morning rain,* in Scripture, which reckons the year as one day. In summer, the great dews compensate for the scarcity of rain. They had plains fit for tillage and pasture, particularly the great plain of Galilee: and this variety of land, within so small a compass, must needs afford very beautiful landscapes, especially where a country has been well peopled and cultivated.

For we are not to judge of the Holy Land from the condition it is now in. From the time of the Crusades it was laid waste by continual wars, till it became subject to the Turks. By these means it is now almost desolate. There is nothing to be seen but little paltry villages, ruins, lands uncultivated and deserted, but full of high grass, which shews their natural fertility. The Turks neglect it, as they do their other provinces; and several of

the Arabian clans, called Bedouins, encamp there at pleasure, and plunder it with impunity. To know then what it was formerly, we must consult antient authors; Josephus; but, above all, the holy Scriptures.[a] [b]Consider the report which the spies made that were sent by Moses, and the prodigious bunch of grapes they brought back.[b] And that we may not be surprised at it, let us compare the grapes in France with those in Italy, which is a cold country in comparison of Palestine. It is the same with regard to most of our fruits. Their names still shew that we had them originally from Asia and Africa: but they have not retained their extraordinary size and natural flavour with their names.

The Israelites had vast crops of *corn* and *barley: wheat* is reckoned among the chief commodities that they carried to Tyre.[c] They had plenty of *oil* and *honey*. The mountains of Judah and Ephraim were great *vineyards*.[d] The *palm trees* that grew about Jericho yielded a considerable profit; and it was the only place in the world where the genuine *balsam tree* was to be found.[e]

This fertility of their country, and the pains they took to cultivate it, account for its maintaining such a multitude of people, though it was of

[a] Joseph. War, B. iii. c. 3. Ant. B. v. c. 1, 5, 21. Whiston's Translation, fol. Lond. 1737.

[b] Numb. xiii. 23. [c] Ezek. xxvii. 17.

[d] Josephus, War, B. i. c. 5.

[e] Fastidit Balsamum alibi nasci. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. c. 32.

so small extent. For what the Scripture says of it seems hardly credible at first sight. When the people first came into this land, there were more than *six hundred thousand* men bearing arms, from twenty years old to sixty.[f] In the war of Gibeah, the tribe of Benjamin alone, which was the least of all, had an army of *twenty-six thousand men*, and the rest of the people had one of *four hundred thousand*.[g] Saul headed *two hundred and ten thousand* men against the Amalekites, when he rooted them out.[h] David always kept up *twelve corps*, each consisting of *twenty-four thousand* men, which served by the month, and amounted to *two hundred and eighty thousand*.[i] And when he numbered the people, which brought down the wrath of GOD upon him, there were *one million three hundred thousand* fighting men.[k] Jehoshaphat had more in proportion: for, though he had scarcely a third part of David's kingdom, he had more troops fit for war; which, altogether, made *eleven hundred and threescore thousand* men, all under his immediate command, besides the garrisons in his strong places.[l]

Nor is there any thing incredible in all this: we see examples to the same purpose in profane history. The great city of Thebes in Egypt furnished out of its own inhabitants alone *seven hundred thousand* fighting men.[m] In the year 188,

[f] Numb. xi. 21.
[g] Judg. xx. 17.
[h] 1 Sam. xv. 4.
[i] 1 Chron. xxvii. 1.
[k] 2 Sam. xxiv. 9.
[l] 2 Chron. xvii. 14, 15, &c.
[m] Tacit. Annal. ii.

from the foundation of Rome, when Servius Tullius first numbered the people, they reckoned *eighty thousand* citizens fit to bear arms.[n] Yet, at that time, they had nothing to subsist upon, but the land about Rome, which is now most of it barren and desolate; for their dominion did not extend above eight or ten leagues.[o]

That was the chief foundation of their politics in old time. *In the multitude of people,* says the Wise Man, *is the king's honour; but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince.*[p] They supported themselves much less by cunning than real strength. Instead of being industrious in setting spies upon their neighbours, and endeavouring to sow divisions among them, or gain credit by false reports, they took pains to people and cultivate their own country, and make the most of it they possibly could, whether it was small or great.

They endeavoured to make marriages easy, and the lives of married people comfortable, to get health and plenty, and draw out of the ground all it could produce. They employed their citizens in labour, inspired them with a love of their country, unanimity among themselves, and obedience to the laws: this is what they called politics.—These are fine maxims, it may be said; but let us come to matters of fact. Shew us how it is possible that so small a country as Palestine should maintain so great a number of people. In order

[n] Liv. i. 24.

[o] See the supplement to this Chapter, Appendix, No. I.

[p] Prov. xiv. 28.

to do this, we must have patience to go through a short calculation; and not to think it below us to descend to particulars, which is the only way of proving it to satisfaction.

Josephus has preserved a valuable fragment of Hecatæus the Abderite, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was a courtier of Ptolemy the First. After relating many remarkable particulars concerning the manners of the Jews, he adds, that the country they inhabit contains about three million *arures* of very rich and fruitful ground.[q] The *arure*, according to Eustathius, was a hundred square cubits, that is, *one hundred and fifty feet*, which, multiplied into so many square feet, make *twenty-two thousand five hundred*.[r] Now our *arpent*, or acre of a hundred perches, contains *forty thousand square feet*, reckoning the perch but twenty feet. So nine of our *arpents* make sixteen *arures*.

I have informed myself of the produce of our best land; and find that it yields five quarters of corn *per* arpent, Paris measure. I have enquired likewise, how much goes to the sustenance of one man; and find that, at the allowance of two pounds and six ounces of bread *per* day, he consumes about three bushels of corn each month, which comes to thirty-six bushels *per* year. But this would not have been enough for the Israelites; we must give them at least double: and it may be

[q] Joseph. cont. App. B. ii. p. 990. Whiston's Edit. Lond. fol. 1737.

[r] Eustath. ex Hom.

proved from Scripture. When God gave them manna in the wilderness, he ordered each man to take an *omer* of it every day, neither more nor less;[s] and it is often said, that it was as much as a man could eat. Now an omer, reduced to our measure, held about *five pints;* and its weight was more than *five pounds and a half.*[t] It was then about eighty-four bushels *per* year: consequently, each arpent, or acre, could maintain but two men at most; and three millions of arures, making one million six hundred eighty-seven thousand five hundred arpents, would feed *three millions three hundred and twenty-five thousand men.*

I know very well this number would not be sufficient to furnish out the one million two hundred thousand fighting men of Jehoshaphat. He had not dominion over half the land; and, though all the Israelites bore arms without distinction, there were always a great many persons among them unfit for war. We must reckon nearly as many women as men, a great many old men, and more children; and though in proportion they need less food, however it must require a great deal to suffice such a multitude. Besides, they were obliged by the law to let the land have rest every seventh year.

But it must be observed that this passage in Hecatæus relates only to the ploughed lands of the Jews, and those too that were most fruitful. For if we take the whole extent of the land of Israel,

[s] Exod. xvi. 16. [t] Ibid. ver. 18.

it would be fourteen times as much. It cannot be computed at less than five degrees square, according to our maps. Now one degree makes *two millions, nine hundred thirty thousand, two hundred fifty-nine* square arpents: and the five degrees, *fourteen millions, six hundred fifty-one thousand, two hundred ninety-five* arpents. So that it is evident that Hecatæus has reckoned only a small part. He has left out what the Samaritans enjoyed in his time; their lakes, desarts, and barren grounds, vineyards, plantations, and pastures, of which they must have had a large quantity for the support of their great herds of cattle. For, besides what they bred, they had some from other countries. The king of Moab paid Ahab king of Israël a tribute of *a hundred thousand lambs,* and *as many rams.* Other Arabians brought Jehoshaphat *seven thousand seven hundred rams,* and *as many he-goats.*[u] All this cattle was a great help to maintaining them, not only by the flesh, but the milk; considering that the Israelites lived in a simple manner, and laid out all their good ground in tillage; for they had few groves, no parks for hunting, no avenues, nor flower gardens. We see by the Song of Solomon that their gardens were full of fruit-trees and aromatic plants; we may therefore be in still less concern for their lodging than their food, since half, nay a quarter of an acre, is more than sufficient to lodge, not only one man, but a whole family, with ease and convenience.

[u] 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

CHAP. IV.

The Riches of the Israelites.

EACH Israelite had his field to till, which was the same that had been allotted to his ancestors in the time of Joshua. They could neither change their place, nor enrich themselves to any great degree. The law of jubilee had provided against that by revoking all alienations every fifty years, and forbidding to exact debts, not only this forty-ninth year, but every sabbatical year: for as the ground lay fallow those years, it was but reasonable to put a stop to law proceedings at the same time.[a] Now *this difficulty of being paid again made it not so easy to borrow money,* and *consequently lessened the opportunities of impoverishment;* which was the design of the law. Besides, the *impossibility of making lasting purchases* gave a *check* to *ambition* and *anxiety:* each man was confined to the portion of his ancestors; and took a pleasure in making the best of it, knowing it could never go out of the family.

This attachment was even a religious duty, founded upon the law of God: and thence proceeded the generous opposition made by Naboth,

[a] Lev. xxv. 10, 11, &c. Joseph. Antiq. B. iii. c. 12. s. 3. Whiston's Edit. fol. Lond. 1737.

when king Ahab would have persuaded him to sell *the inheritance of his fathers.*[b] So the law says they were no more than usufructuaries of their land, or rather GOD's *tenants,* who was the true Proprietor of it.[c] They were obliged to pay no rent but the tenths and first-fruits which he had commanded: and Samuel reckons taxes upon corn and wine as one of the encroachments of kings with which he threatens the people.[d] All the Israelites were then very nearly equal in riches as well as quality: and if, by the increase of a family, they were obliged to divide the estate in land into more shares, it was to be made up with industry and labour, by tilling the ground more carefully, and breeding greater numbers of cattle in desarts and commons.

Thus, it was *cattle* and other moveables that made one richer than another. They bred the same sort of creatures as the Patriarchs did, and always many more females than males; otherwise they had been liable to many inconveniences, for the law forbad them to castrate them.[e] They had no *horses,* nor are they of any great use in mountainous countries: their kings had them out of Egypt, when they had occasion for them. The common way of riding was upon asses, even among the rich. To give us a great idea of Jair, one of the judges over the people, the Scripture tells us that he had thirty sons who were rulers of

[b] 1 Kings xxi. 3.
[c] Levit. xxv. 23.
[d] 1 Sam. viii. 15.
[e] Levit. xxii. 24.

thirty cities, riding upon thirty asses.[f] It is recorded of Abdon, another judge, that he had forty sons, and thirty grandsons, that rode upon threescore and ten asses;[g] and in the song of Deborah the captains of Israel are described as mounted upon sleek and shining asses.[h]

It does not appear that they had a great number of *slaves;* neither had they occasion for them, being so industrious and numerous in so small a country: they chose rather to make their children work, whom they were obliged to maintain, who served them better than any slaves. The Romans found a great inconvenience at last from that vast multitude of slaves of all nations, which luxury and effeminacy had introduced among them: *it was one of the chief causes of the ruin of that empire.*

Ready money could not be very common among the Israelites: there was no great occasion for it in a country of little trade; and where it was scarcely possible to alienate lands, or run into debt.[i] They were forbidden to take *usury* of one another, though they might of strangers:[k] but, if

[f] Judg. x. 4. [g] Judg. xii. 14.

[h] Judg. v. 10.—צחר *tsachar* signifies not only *white*, as it is translated in our Bible, but *sleek* or *shining; nitentes*, as the Vulgate has it. And probably the asses here mentioned might be both; the author's words are *ânes polis et luisans*. The word occurs but twice in the Hebrew Bible: *viz.* in the above text, and Ezek. xxvii. 18.—E. F.

[i] Lev. xxv. 10. Deut. xv. 1, 3.

[k] Lev. xxv. 36. Deut. xxiii. 19.

they observed their law, it was no easy matter to have any dealing with foreigners.[l] Thus their wealth, as I said before, consisted chiefly in land and cattle.

And they are riches of this kind which GOD promises them, such as are most natural and substantial. He speaks to them neither of gold, nor silver, nor precious stones, nor fine furniture; much less of other riches which depend more upon trade, and the inventions of men: but, He says, He will send rain in its season; that the earth shall bring forth corn in abundance; that the trees shall be laden with fruit; that the harvest, the vintage, and seed time, shall follow one another without interruption.[m] He promises them plenty of food, undisturbed sleep, safety, peace, and even victory over their enemies. He adds, that He will make them increase and multiply by looking favourably upon them; that His blessing shall make their wives fruitful; that He will bless their herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep, their granaries and cellars, and the works of their hands.[n] These are the temporal good things which GOD allows men to expect from Him.

[l] 2 Chron. ii. 17.
[m] Lev. xxvi. 3, &c.
[n] Deut. xxviii. 4.

CHAP. V.

Their Arts and Trades.

WE know no people more entirely addicted to agriculture than the Israelites. The Egyptians and Syrians joined manufactures, navigation, and trade to it: but, above all, the Phœnicians, who finding themselves straitened in point of room, from the time that the Israelites drove them out of their country, were obliged to live by trade, and be in a manner brokers and factors for all the rest of the world. The Greeks imitated them, and excelled chiefly in arts. On the contrary, the Romans despised mechanics, and applied themselves to commerce.[a] As for the Israelites, their land was sufficient to maintain them; and the sea coasts were, for the most part, possessed by the Philistines and Canaanites, who were the Phœnicians. There was only the tribe of Zabulon, whose share of land lay near the sea, that had any temptation to trade; which seems to be foretold in the blessings pronounced by Jacob and Moses.[b]

Nor do we see that they applied themselves more to manufactures than to commerce. Not that arts

[a] Joseph. cont. App. l. i. 12.

[b] Gen. xlix. 13. Deut. xxxiii. 18.

were not then invented; many of them are older than the Flood:[c] and we find that the Israelites had excellent workmen, at least as early as the time of Moses. Bezaleel and Aholiab, who made the tabernacle and every thing that was necessary for the service of GOD, are an instance that puts this past dispute.[d] It is surprising how they came to be so well skilled in arts that were not only very difficult, but very different from one another. They understood melting of metals, cutting and engraving precious stones; they were joiners, makers of tapestry, embroiderers, and perfumers.

We may be justly surprised that two of these arts should have been known at this early period by the Israelites, the cutting of jewels, and the casting of figures;[e] such as the cherubim of the ark, and the golden calf which was made at that time. They who understand the arts ever so little, know how much ingenuity and what a number of tools those works require. If they were invented before, it is a sign that even the arts which serve only for ornament were then brought to great perfection; and if they had any secret, to do the same thing with more ease and a less apparatus, it was still a higher degree of improvement. But this only by the bye, to shew that people were not so dull and ignorant in these antient times as many imagine, the world being two thousand five hundred years old in the days of Moses.

[c] Gen. iv. 20—22.
[d] Exod. xxxi. 2, 6. xxxvi. xxxvii, &c.
[e] Exod. xxxi. 5.

But whether these two famous workmen had learnt from the Egyptians, or their skill was miraculous and inspired by God, as the Scriptures seem to say, it does not appear that they had any to succeed them, nor that any of the Israelites were artificers by profession, and worked for the public, till the time of the kings. When Saul began to reign, it is taken notice of, that there was no workman that understood forging iron in all the land of Israel:[f] and that they were forced to go to the Philistines to sharpen even the instruments which they used in husbandry. It is true, this was owing to the oppression of the Philistines, to hinder them from making arms. But several years after David was obliged, when he fled, to take the sword of Goliah, which must have been rather too heavy for him, and take it too out of God's tabernacle,[g] where it was hung up for a lasting monument of his victory. This makes me think there were no arms to be bought.

It seems, likewise, as if there was no bread sold; since, upon the same occasion, Abimelech the priest was obliged to give David the shew-bread: which intimates, moreover, that the people kept but little bread in their houses, it may be, upon account of the country's being so hot. So the witch, to whom Saul went, made him bread on purpose when she entertained him, that he might recover his strength.[h] Every one had an oven in his own house, since the

[f] 1 Sam. xiii. 19. [g] 1 Sam. xxi. 9.
[h] 1 Sam. xxviii. 24.

law threatens them, as with a great misfortune, that ten women should bake their bread at one oven.[1] At Rome there were no bakers till the time of the Persian war, more than five hundred and eighty years after the foundation of the city.[k]

Were we to reckon up all trades particularly, it would appear that many would have been of no use to them. Their plain way of living, and the mildness of the climate, made that long train of conveniences unnecessary, which we think it hard to be without; though vanity and effeminacy, more than real want, have introduced them. And as to things that were absolutely necessary, there were few of them that they did not know how to make themselves. All sorts of food were cooked within doors. The women made bread and prepared the victuals; they spun wool, made stuffs and wearing apparel: the men took care of the rest.

Homer describes old Eumæus making his own shoes; and says, that he had built fine stalls for the cattle he bred.[l] Ulysses himself built his own house; and set up his bed with great art, the structure of which served to make him known to Penelope again.[m] When he left Calypso, it was he

[1] Lev. xxvi. 26.

[k] *Pistores, Romæ non fuerunt ad Persicum usque bellum, annis ab urbe conditâ super* 580. *Ipsi panem faciebant Quirites, mulierum id opus erat.* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. c. 11.

[l] Αυτος δ' αμφι ποδεσσιν εοις αραρισκε πεδιλα,
Ταμνων δερμα βοειον, ευχροες. Odyss. lib. xiv. ver. 23.
Here sat Eumæus, and his care apply'd
To form strong buskins of well season'd hide. POPE.

[m] Odyss. lib. xxiii. ver. 183—204.

alone that built and rigged the ship; from all which we see the spirit of these antient times.[n] It was esteemed an honour for each person to understand the making of every thing necessary for life, without any dependence upon others; and it is that which Homer most commonly calls *wisdom* and *knowledge*. Now, I must say, the authority of Homer appears to me very great in this case. As he lived about the time of the prophet Elijah, and in Asia Minor, all the accounts that he gives of the Greek and Trojan customs have a wonderful resemblance with what the Scripture informs us of concerning the manners of the Hebrews and other eastern people:[o] only the Greeks, not being so antient, were not so polite.

But, however it might be in former times, we are sure that David left a great number of artificers in his kingdom of all sorts: masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and indeed all such as work in stone, wood, and metals.[p] And that we may not think they were strangers, it is said that Solomon chose out of Israel thirty thousand workmen, and that he had seventy thousand that bare burthens, and eighty thousand hewers in the mountains.[q] It is true, he borrowed workmen of the

[n] Odyss. lib. ver. 243—257.

[o] Marm. Arundel. And this is a further proof that the poems of Homer were composed from incidents in real life; and about that period to which they are generally assigned; and that they are not poetic figments, like most of the Epic poems which were formed after their model.

[p] 1 Chron. xxii. 15, 16. [q] 1 Kings v. 13, 15.

king of Tyre;[r] and owned that *his* subjects did not understand cutting wood so well as the Sidonians; and that he sent for Hiram, an excellent founder, to make the sacred vessels.

But luxury increasing after the division of the two kingdoms, there is reason to believe they had always plenty of workmen. In the genealogy of the tribe of Judah, we may observe, there is a place called the *Valley of Craftsmen*,[s] because, says the Scripture, they dwelt there. There is likewise mention made in the same place of people that wrought in fine linen; and of potters, who worked for the king, and dwelt in his gardens. All this shews the respect that was paid to famous mechanics, and the care that was taken to preserve their memory. The prophet Isaiah, amongst his menaces against Jerusalem, foretels that GOD will take away from her the *cunning artificers*:[t] and when it was taken, it is often said that they carried away the very workmen.[u] But we have a proof from Ezekiel, that they never had any considerable manufactures, when the prophet, describing the abundance of their merchandise which came to Tyre, mentions nothing brought from the

[r] 1 Kings v. 1—12. vii. 13, &c.

[s] 1 Chron. iv. 14. The valley of Craftsmen גיא חרשים gia charashim, translated *vallis artificum* by the Vulgate. חרש charash, signifies *to work in iron, wood, stone, pottery*, &c. and JOAB, the person mentioned in the text, is styled by Rabbi Joseph's Targum the *chief*, or *superintendant*, of the *craftsmen* or *artificers*.

[t] Isaiah iii. 3.

[u] 2 Kings xxiv. 14.

land of Judah and Israel but wheat, oil, resin, and balm;[x] all of them commodities that the earth itself produced.

These were the employments of the Israelites, and their manner of subsisting. Let us now come to something more particular; and describe their apparel, their houses, furniture, food, and whole manner of living, as exactly as we can. They rose early, as the Scripture observes in a great number of places, that is, as often as it mentions any action, though never so inconsiderable. Hence it comes that, in their style, *to rise early* signifies, in general, to do a thing sedulously, and with a good will: thus it is frequently said that *God rose up early* to send the prophets to His people, and exhort them to repentance.[y] It is a consequence of country labour. The Greeks and Romans followed the same custom: they rose very early, and worked till night; they bathed, supped, and went to bed in good time.

[x] Ezek. xxvii. 17.

[y] 2 Chron. xxxvii. 15. Jerem. vii. 13. xi. 7. xxxv. 14.

CHAP. VI.

Their Wearing Apparel.

AS to the clothes of the Israelites, we cannot know exactly the shape of them. They had no pictures or statues, and there is no coming at a right notion of these things without seeing them. But one may give a guess at them, from the statues which remain of the Greeks and other nations: for, as to modern pictures, most of them serve only to give us false ideas.* I do not speak only of those Gothic paintings in which every person, let him have lived *where* and *when* he would, is dressed

* There is every reason to believe that the dress of the Jews was similar to that of the antient Egyptians: and, as many statues and monuments of Egyptian antiquity still remain, we may see by them what the antient Jewish habits were. A *tunic* was the principal part of their dress: this was made nearly in the form of our present *shirt*. A round hole was cut at top, merely to permit the head to pass through. Sometimes it had *long* sleeves, which reached down to the wrists; at other times *short* sleeves, which reached to the elbow; and some had *very short* sleeves, which reached only to the middle of the upper arm; and some had no sleeves at all. The *tunic* was nearly the same with the Roman *stola;* and was in general girded round the waist, or under the breasts, with the *zona*, or girdle. Besides the *tunic*, they wore the *pallium*, which covered the shoulders and back, and was the same with the *chlamys* of the Greeks. Indeed all these antient nations seem to have had nearly the same dress.

like those the painter was accustomed to see; that is, as the French or Germans were some hundred years ago: I mean the works of the greatest painters, except Raphael, Poussin, and some few others that have thoroughly studied the *manner* or *costume* of each age, as they call it. All the rest have had no more sense then to paint the people of the east such as they saw at Venice, or other parts of Italy: and for the stories of the New Testament, they painted the Jews like those of their own country. However, as most Scripture painting is copied from these originals, we have taken the impression of it from our infancy; and are used to form to ourselves an idea of the patriarchs with turbans, and beards down to their waist; and of the Pharisees in the Gospel with hoods and pouches. There is no great evil in being deceived in all this: but, if possible, it is better not to be deceived.

The antients commonly wore long garments, as most nations in the world still do; and as we ourselves did in Europe not above two hundred years ago. One may much sooner cover the whole body all at once, than each part of it singly; and long garments have more dignity and gracefulness. In hot countries they always wore a wide dress; and never concerned themselves about covering the arms or legs, or wore any thing upon the feet but soles fastened in different ways. Thus their dress took but little making: it was only a large piece of cloth shaped into a garment; there was nothing to cut, and not much to sew. They had likewise the art of weaving gowns with sleeves all of one

piece, and without seam, as our Saviour's coat was.[b]

The fashions never changed, nor do they now, in any part of the East. And since clothes are made to cover the body, and men's bodies are alike in all ages, there is no occasion for the prodigious variety of dresses, and such frequent changes, as we are used to. It is reasonable to seek that which is most convenient, that the body may be sufficiently defended against the injuries of the weather, according to the climate and season, and be at perfect liberty in all its motions. There must be a proper respect paid to decency, age, sex, and profession. One may have an eye likewise to the handsomeness of clothes, provided, under that pretence, we do not wear uneasy ornaments, and are contented, as the antients were, with pleasing colours and natural drapery: but, when once we have found what is handsome and convenient, we ought by no means to change.

Nor are they the *wisest* people who invent new fashions: they are generally *women* and *young people*, with the assistance of *mercers*, *milliners*, and *tailors*, who have no other view but their own interest. Yet these trifles have very grievous consequences. The expense occasioned by superfluous ornaments, and the *changing of fashions*, is very hard upon most people of moderate circumstances, and is one reason that marrying is so difficult: it is a continual source of quarrels betwixt the old

[b] John xix. 23.

and young, and the reverence for antient times is much lessened by it. Young fantastical people, when they see their ancestors' pictures, in dresses which are only ridiculous because they are not used to them, can hardly believe they were persons of a good understanding, or their maxims fit to be followed. In a word, they that pretend to be so very nice and exact in their dress must spend a great deal of their time in it, and make it a study, of no use surely towards improving their minds, or rendering them capable of great undertakings.

As the antients did not change their fashions, the rich had always great quantities of clothes by them, and were not liable to the inconvenience of waiting for a new suit, or having it made up in haste. Lucullus had five thousand cloaks in his wardrobe,[c] which was a sort of military dress; by

[c] —— *Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,*
Si posset centum scenæ præbere rogatus,
Qui possum tot? ait: ——————
—— *post paulò scribit, sibi* millia quinque
Esse domi Chlamydum.

—————— Lucullus, as they say,
Once being asked to furnish for a play
A hundred martial vests, astonish'd cried,
Whence can so vast a number be supplied!
—————— soon after writes them word,
Five thousand vests were ready at a call.

HORAT. Epist. lib. 1. Ep. vi. ver. 40—44.

As this was a kind of military dress, it is probable that Lucullus had them principally for the purpose of clothing his soldiers. Lucullus commanded the Roman armies against *Mithridates* king of Pontus, and *Tigranes* king of Armenia; and

which we may judge of what he had besides. It was common to make presents of clothes; and then they always gave two suits, for change, that one might be worn whilst the other was washing, as we do with our sets of linen. The stuffs were generally made of wool. In Egypt and Syria they wore also fine linen, cotton, and byssus, which was finer than all the rest. This byssus, which the Scripture so often mentions, is a sort of silk, of a golden yellow, that grows upon great shell-fish.[a] As to our silk made from worms, it was unknown in the time of the Israelites; and the use of it did not become common on this side the Indies, till more than five hundred years after CHRIST. The beauty of their clothes consisted in the fineness and colour of the stuff. The most esteemed were the white and the purple, red or violet. And, it seems, *white* was the colour most in use among the Israelites, as well as the Greeks and Romans: since Solomon says, *Let thy garments be always white,*[*] meaning clean. Nothing in reality can be plainer than to make use of wool or flax just as nature produces them, without dyeing. Young people of both sexes wore clothes variegated with

was honoured with a triumph A. U. C. 691. He is accused of being the first who introduced luxury among the Romans.

[a] Gesner. Hist. Anim. l. iv. de Pinnâ. The Byssus of the Greeks and Latins was the בוץ *buts* of the Hebrews; and was formed out of the beard or tuft of the *pinna longa*, a large shell-fish of the muscle species, found on the coasts of the Mediterranean sea.

[*] Eccles. ix. 8.

divers colours. Such was Joseph's coat, which his brethren spoiled him of when they sold him:[f] and of the same sort were the gowns which kings' daughters wore in the time of David.[g]

The ornaments of their habits were fringes, or borders of purple or embroidery, and clasps of gold or precious stones, where they were necessary. Greatness consisted in changing dress often, and wearing only such clothes as were thoroughly clean and whole. Besides, nobody will doubt that the Israelites went very plain in their dress, if we consider how remarkable the Greeks and Romans were for it, even in the time of their greatest luxury. We see it in the antient statues, Trajan's pillar, and other pieces of sculpture.

The garments commonly mentioned in Scripture are the *tunic* and *mantle*: and the Greek and Roman dress consisted of these two only.[h] The tunic was made wide, to leave freedom of motion at work: they loosed it when they were unemployed; but in travelling or at work they tied it up with a girdle. Thence comes the phrase so frequent in Scripture, *Arise, gird up thy loins, and do this.* The Israelites were ordered to wear ribbons of blue on the borders of their garments, to make them continually mindful of the law of GOD.[i] They had the head covered with a sort of tiara, like that of the Persians and Chaldeans; for it was a sign of mourning to go bare-headed: and

[f] Gen. xxxvii. 32.
[g] 2 Sam. xiii. 18.
[h] See Note on p. 56.
[i] Numb. xv. 38.

they wore their own hair, for to be shaved was another mark of affliction. As to the beard, it is very certain they wore it long, by the instance of the ambassadors that David sent to the king of the Ammonites, half of whose beards that ill-advised prince shaved off to affront them:[k] so that they were forced to stay some time at Jericho, to let their beards grow again, before they could appear in public. He also caused their clothes to be cut off in the middle, and in such a manner as shews they wore them very long.

They bathed frequently, as is still the custom in hot countries, and washed their feet still oftener; because, wearing nothing but sandals, they could not walk without gathering much dust. Thence it comes the Scripture speaks so much of washing the feet at first coming into a house, at sitting down to victuals, and going to bed. Now because water dries the skin and hair, they anointed themselves, either with plain oil, or such as had aromatic spices infused in it, which was commonly called *ointment*. This custom still prevails in the East Indies.[l]

We see in several parts of the Scripture after what manner the women dressed and adorned themselves. God, reproaching Jerusalem with her

[k] 2 Sam. x. 4.

[l] To guard against the inconveniences of excessive evaporation by frequent bathing in these warm countries, the good sense of the people led them to anoint those parts of the body most exposed to the action of the air; and thus not only excessive evaporation was prevented, but the exposed surface was rendered more capable of resisting the action of a scorching atmosphere.

breaches of faith, under the figure of a husband, who has brought his wife out of the greatest misery to heap blessings upon her, says, by the prophet Ezekiel, that he has given her very fine stuffs, and of different colours, a silken girdle, purple shoes, bracelets, a neck-lace, ear-rings, and a crown or rather mitre,[m] such as the Syrian women used a great while after ;[n] that he adorned her with gold and silver, and the most costly raiment. When Judith dressed herself to go to Holofernes, it is said that she washed and anointed herself; that she braided her hair, and put attire upon her head; that she put on her garments of gladness, with sandals upon her feet, and adorned herself with bracelets, ear-rings, and rings upon her fingers.[o] In a word, we cannot desire a more particular account of these female ornaments than what we read in Isaiah, when he reproaches the daughters of Sion with their vanity and luxury ;[p] for corruption was then got to the highest pitch.

[m] Ezek. xvi. 10, 11, &c.

[n] *Ite, quibus grata est pictâ lupa barbara mitrâ.*

Juv. *Sat.* iii. ver. 66.

The barbarous harlots crowd the public place :
Go, fools, and purchase an unclean embrace,
The painted *mitre* court, and the more painted face.

Dryden.

Mitres, variously painted and ornamented, are still used by the women of the East.

[o] Judith x. 3, &c.

[p] Isaiah iii. 16, &c.

CHAP. VII.

Their Houses and Furniture.

THERE was occasion for much less furniture in those hot countries, than in our's: and their plainness in all other respects gives us reason to think they had but little. The law often speaks of wooden and earthen vessels; and earthenware was very common among the Greeks and Romans before luxury had crept in among them.[a] They are mentioned among the things that were brought for the refreshment of David, during the war with Absalom,[b] We see the furniture that was thought necessary, in the words of the Shunamite woman who lodged the prophet Elisha: *Let us make,* said she to her husband, *a little chamber for the man of* GOD, *and set for him there a bed, a table, a stool, and a candlestick.*[c] Their beds were no more than couches without curtains, except they were such light coverings as the Greeks called *canopies,*[d]

[a] That the Greeks and Romans had arrived at great perfection in pottery, is evident from the very elegant vessels dug up from the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii. An elegant and invaluable collection of such, made by the late Sir William Hamilton, is now in the British Museum. There are also some rare and valuable vases of this sort in Warwick castle.

[b] 2 Sam. xvii. 28.

[c] 2 Kings iv. 10. [d] *Konopeion,* from Κωνωψ, *a gnat.*

because they served to keep off the *gnats*. The great people had ivory bedsteads,[e] as the prophet Amos reproaches the wealthy in his time; and they that were most delicate made their beds very soft, decked them with rich stuffs, and sprinkled them with odoriferous waters.[f] They placed the beds against the wall; for it is said, when Hezekiah was threatened that he should die soon, he turned his face to the wall to weep.[g]

The candlestick mentioned among Elisha's furniture was probably one of those great ones that were set upon the ground to hold one or more lamps.[h] Till then, and a long while after, even in the time of the Romans, they burnt nothing but oil to give light. Thence it is so common in Scripture to call every thing that enlightens the body or mind, whatever guides or refreshes, by the name of *lamp*. There is not much reason to think they had tapestry in their houses. They have occasion for little in hot countries, because bare walls are cooler. They make use only of carpets to sit and

[e] Amos vi. 4.

[f] Prov. vii. 16, 17.

[g] 2 Kings xx. 2.

[h] I have now before me a *cast* from a lamp, brought by Mr. Jackson, (author of *A Journey from India overland, &c.* 8vo. Lond. 1799,) from the Ruins of Herculaneum. It is circular, 22 inches in diameter, and contains places for twelve lights. The oil is put into a large cavity in the centre, which is covered with a lid; and with this cavity all the wick places communicate. It is finely ornamented on the top with the thyrses and masks alternately placed. As there are no ornaments on the under side, it is evidently one of that kind mentioned above, which stood upon a table, or was placed on the ground.

lie upon; and Ezekiel speaks of them among the merchandise which the Arabians brought to Tyre.[j] They are also mentioned among the things provided for David's refreshment, which would incline one to think the Israelites used them in camp, for in houses they had chairs.[k]

Their houses differed from ours in all that we see still in hot countries. Their roofs are flat, the windows closed with lattices or curtains; they have no chimnies, and lie for the most part on a ground floor.

We have a great many proofs in Scripture that roofs were *flat* in and about the land of Israel. Rahab hid the spies of Joshua upon the roof of the house.[l] When Samuel acquainted Saul that God had chosen him to be king, he made him lie all night upon the roof of the house, which is still usual in hot countries.[m] David was walking upon the roof of his palace, when he saw Bathsheba bathing.[n] When Absalom had rebelled against his father, he caused a tent to be raised upon the roof of the same palace, where he lay with his father's concubines.[o] This action was in a manner taking possession of the kingdom; and made public, to shew that he was determined never to return to his duty. They ran to the tops of their houses upon great alarms, as is plain from two passages in

[j] Ezek. xxvii. 24.
[k] 2 Sam. xvii. 28, where they are termed *beds* or *couches*.
[l] Josh. ii. 6. [m] 1 Sam. ix. 25. [n] 2 Sam. xi. 2.
[o] 2 Sam. xvi. 22.

Isaiah.[p] All this shews the reason of the law, that ordered a battlement to be raised quite round the roof, lest any body should fall down and be killed;[q] and explains the expression in the Gospel, *what you have heard in the ear publish on the house-tops.* Every house was a scaffold ready built for any one that had a mind to make himself heard at a distance.

The casements of windows are taken notice of in the Proverbs,[r] the Song of Solomon,[s] and the story of the death of Ahaziah king of Israel.[t] When king Jehoiakim burnt the book which Jeremiah had written by the order of GOD, he was sitting in his winter-house, with a fire on the hearth burning before him:[u] whence one may judge they had no chimnies;[w] which indeed are the invention of cold

[p] Isaiah xv. 3, and xxii. 1.
[q] Deut. xxii. 8.
[r] Prov. vii. 6.
[s] Song of Sol. ii. 9.
[t] 2 Kings i. 2.
[u] Jer. xxxvi. 22.

[w] The fire, which the king had *before* him, is supposed to have been in a moveable stove, whence the Vulgate translates it *arula vorum ev, plena prunis*; and therefore had no fixed chimney to it. And that the antients had none has been asserted by several of the learned, particularly by Manutius, in Cic. Fam. l. vii. ep. x. and Lipsius, Ep. ad Belgas, iii. 75. and that the smoke went out at the windows, or at the tops of the houses. Cato, de Re Rust. c. xviii. says, *focum purum circumversum, priusquam cubitum eat, habeat.* The hearth could not be swept *round*, if it was, as with us, built in a chimney. Columella, l. xi. c. ult. speaks of the smoke adhering to the ceilings, over the hearth: *Fuligo, quæ supra focos tectis inhæret, colligi debet.* Seneca, Ep. 90, describes stove tubes, then lately invented, placed round the walls of the rooms, to throw an equal warmth into them. On the other hand Dan. Barbarus, in his Comment

countries. In hot climates they were satisfied with stoves for the kitchen. They made use of stone in building, especially at Jerusalem, where it was very common; and they knew how to cut it into very large pieces. There is mention made, in Solomon's buildings, of stones eight or ten cubits long, that is, twelve or fifteen feet;[t] and those called *costly stones* are, doubtless, different sorts of marble.[u]

The beauty of their buildings consisted less in ornaments placed in certain parts, than in the whole model; in cutting and joining the stones, they took care to have all even and well dressed by the level and square. This is what Homer says of the building he commends, and this sort of beauty is still admired in the antient Egyptian edifices. The Israelites made use of fragrant woods, as cedar and cypress, to wainscot the in-

on Vitruvius, and Ferrarius, i. 9, maintain that they often had chimnies: but only in the upper rooms, *in cœnationibus*, which is a reason why no remains of them are found, the highest stories first falling to ruin. Aristophanes, in Vesp. i. 2, 8, introduces an old man, shut up by his son, endeavouring to escape up the chimney. Herodot. vii. p. 578, 579, mentions the sun shining upon the hearth down the chimney: and Appian, B. C. 104, says, some of the proscribed hid themselves in jakes, some in wells, some in chimnies. The reader may see more in the above-cited authors.—E. F.

[t] Josephus says, that the stones with which the Temple was built "were white and strong, *fifty feet* long, *twenty-four* broad, and *sixteen* in thickness." Antiq. B. xv. c. xi. Our Lord's disciples are represented as struck with wonder at seeing such immense masses wrought up in the walls of the Temple. Mark xiii. 1.

[u] 1 Kings vii. 9, 10.

side of the most pompous buildings, and out of these they made the ceiling and pillars.[x] This was used in the temple, and Solomon's palaces;[y] and David says, that *he dwells in a house of cedar*,[z] to express the magnificence of his apartments.

CHAP. VIII.

Their Diet.

AS to what regards the table, the Israelites ate sitting, as the Greeks did in Homer's time: and it is necessary to take notice of it, to distinguish one period from another. For afterwards, that is to say, from the reign of the Persians, they ate lying upon couches or sofas,[a] as the Persians and other eastern people did; from whom the Greeks and Romans also took the custom. Regular people did not eat till after their work, and pretty late. Wherefore eating and drinking early in the morning signify intemperance and debauchery in Scripture.[b] Their food was plain. They commonly mention only eating bread and drinking water; which is the reason that the word *bread* is gene-

[x] 2 Sam. v. 11.
[y] Song of Sol. iii. 6.
[z] 2 Sam. vii. 2.
[a] Esther i. 6, 7, 8.
[b] Isaiah v. 11.

rally taken in Scripture for all sorts of victuals. They broke their bread without cutting it, because they made use of none but small long taper rolls, as is still done in several countries.[c] The first favour that Boaz shewed Ruth was to let her drink of the same water with his young men, and come and eat with them, and dip her morsel in the vinegar:[d] and we see, by the compliments she made in return, that this was no small favour.

We may judge of their most common provisions by the refreshment David received at different times from Abigail, Ziba, and Barzillai; and by what was brought to him at Hebron.[e] The sorts there mentioned are *bread* and *wine, wheat* and *barley, flour* of both, *beans, lentiles, parched corn, raisins, dried figs, honey, butter, oil, sheep, oxen,* and *fat calves.* There is in this account a great deal of *corn* and *pulse,* which was also the most common food of the antient Egyptians; and of the Romans in the best times, when they gave themselves most to husbandry. Hence came the illustrious names of *Fabius, Piso, Cicero,* and *Lentulus.*[f] The advice of the Wise Man shews the

[c] Or rather thin, crisp, perforated cakes, called in Scripture פְּרִיכִים *nakudeem,* such as the Jews frequently make to the present day, and which are still common in the East.

[d] Ruth ii. 9, 14.

[e] 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. xvii. 28.

[f] Clem. Alex. 2 Paedag. I. *in fine.* See also Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. c. 3. where he shews that the *Pilumni* were so called for having invented the *pestle;* the *Pisones* from *pounding* the *corn;* the *Fabii, Cicerones,* and *Lentuli,* from their delighting to sow and rear *beans, vetches,* and *lentiles.*

use the Israelites made of milk. *Take care*, says he, *that thou have goat's milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for maintenance to thy maidens.*[g]

Though it was lawful to eat fish, I do not find that it is mentioned till the later times. It is believed the antients despised it, as too dainty and light food for robust men.[h] Neither does Homer speak of it, or the Greeks, in what they write relating to the heroic times. We hear but little of sauces, or high-seasoned dishes, among the Hebrews. Their feasts consisted of substantial well fed meat; and they reckoned milk and honey their greatest dainties. Indeed, before sugar was brought from the Indies, there was nothing known more agreeable to the taste than honey. They preserved fruits in it, and mixed it in the nicest pastry. Instead of milk, they often mention butter, that is, cream, which is the finest part of it. The offerings prescribed by the law shew that, ever since the time of Moses, they had divers sorts of pastry,[i] some kneaded with oil, others without it.

And here we must not omit the distinction of meats allowed or forbidden by the law. It was not peculiar to the Hebrews to abstain from certain animals out of a religious principle; the neighbouring people did the same. Neither the Syrians nor the Egyptians ate any fish; and some have

[g] Prov. xxvii. 27.
[h] Plato, Rep. iii.
[i] Lev. ii. 4, 5, &c.

thought it was superstition that made the antient Greeks not eat it. The Egyptians of Thebes would eat no mutton, because they worshipped Ammon under the shape of a ram:[k] but they killed goats. In other places they abstained from goats' flesh, and sacrificed sheep. The Egyptian priests used no meat nor drink imported from foreign countries:[l] and as to the product of their own, besides fish, they abstained from beasts that have a round foot, or divided into several toes, or that have no horns; and birds that live upon flesh. Many would eat nothing that had life: and in the times of their purification they would not touch so much as eggs, herbs, or garden stuff. None of the Egyptians would eat beans.[m] They accounted swine unclean: whoever touched one, though in passing by, washed himself and his clothes.—Socrates, in his Commonwealth, reckons eating swine's flesh among the superfluous things introduced by luxury.[n] Indeed, they are of no use but for the table. Every body knows that the Indian Bramins still neither eat nor kill any sort of animal; and it is certain they have not done it for more than two thousand years.

The law of Moses then had nothing new or extraordinary in this point: the design of it was to keep the people within reasonable bounds, and to prevent their imitating the superstitions of some other nations, without leaving them quite at liberty,

[k] Herod. ii.
[l] Porphyr. Abstin. iv.
[m] Herod. ii.
[n] Plato ii. Rep.

of which they might have made a bad use. For this abstinence from particular sorts of meat contributed to the preservation both of their health and morals. It was not only to tame their untractable spirit that God imposed this yoke, but to wean them from things that might be prejudicial.[o] They were forbidden to eat blood or fat: both are hard of digestion: and though strong working people, as the Israelites, might find less inconvenience from it than others, it was better to provide wholesome food for them, since it was a matter of option. Swine's flesh lies heavy upon the stomach, and affords a very gross species of nutriment: so do fish that have no scales. The solid part is fat and oily, whether it be tender, as that of eels; or hard, as that of tunny, whale, or others of the same kind. Thus we may easily account for most of these things being forbidden, as Clemens Alexandrinus has observed.[p]

As to the moral reasons, all sensible people have ever reckoned gluttony a vice that ought principally to be guarded against, as the beginning of most others. The Socratic philosophers strongly recommended temperance; and Plato despaired of reforming the manners of the Sicilians, so long as they ate *two* great meals a day.[q]

[o] See Note on p. 2. [p] 2 Pæd. 1. Cassian. Instit. 5.

[q] Plat. Ep. vii. *in init.* But had he lived in these latter times, how great must his astonishment have been to find persons, Christians, professing the utmost purity of manners and elevation of mind, feeding themselves *four*, yea *six* or *seven* times in the day!

It is supposed that what Pythagoras aimed at by enjoining abstinence, was to make men just and disinterested, in using themselves to live on a little. Now one of the chief branches of gluttony is a desire of a variety of dishes. Too much soon palls; but, as variety is infinite, the desire after it is insatiable. Tertullian comprehends all these reasons in the following passages:—*If the law takes away the use of some sorts of meat, and pronounces creatures unclean that were formerly held quite otherwise, let us consider that the design is to inure them to temperance, and look upon it as a restraint laid upon gluttons, who hankered after the cucumbers and melons of Egypt, whilst they were eating the food of angels. Let us consider it too as a remedy at the same time against excess and impurity, the usual attendants of gluttony. It was partly likewise to extinguish the love of money, by taking away the pretence of its being necessary for providing of sustenance. It was, finally, to enable men to fast with less inconvenience upon religious occasions, by using them to a moderate and plain diet.*[r]

[r] Tertullian, adv. Marc. lib. ii. cap. 18. *in fine.*

CHAP. IX.

Their Purifications.

THE purifications prescribed by the law had the same foundation as the distinction of meats. The neighbouring people practised some of the like nature: among others the Egyptians, whose priests shaved off all their hair every three days, and washed their bodies all over twice in the night, and two or three times a day.[a] The legal purifications of the Israelites were of advantage in preserving both their health and morals. The cleanness of the body is a symbol of the purity of the soul: which is the reason that some devout people have affected to be dirty, to make themselves more despicable, and to shew the plainer, by their outward appearance, the abhorrence they had of their sins. Thence too external purification is called *sanctification*, because it makes those observe, at least, an outward purity, who draw near to holy things. Nay, one may venture to say that cleanliness is a natural consequence of virtue; since filthiness, for the most part, proceeds only from sloth and meanness of spirit.[b]

[a] Herod. lib. ii. Porphyr. de Abstin.

[b] A great man has asserted, "That cleanliness is next to godliness." And we generally find cleanliness practised in

Besides, cleanliness is necessary to preserve health and prevent sickness, especially in hot countries: accordingly we find people generally cleanlier there. Heat inclines them to strip themselves, to bathe, and often change their clothes. But in the cold countries we are afraid both of the air and water, and are more benumbed and sluggish. It is certain the nastiness in which most of our lower sort of people live, especially the poorest and those that are in towns, either causes or increases many distempers. What would be the consequence then in hot countries, where the air is sooner corrupted, and the water more scarce? Besides, the antients made but little use of linen; and woollen is not so easy to be cleansed.

Here let us admire the wisdom and goodness of GOD, who gave His people laws that were useful so many different ways: for they served altogether to inure them to obedience, to keep them from superstition, to improve their manners, and preserve their health. Thus, in the formation of plants and animals, we see many parts serve for different uses. Now, it was a matter of consequence that the precepts that enjoined cleanliness should make a part of their religion; for as they related to what was done within doors, and the most secret actions of life, nothing but the fear of GOD could keep the people from transgressing them. Yet GOD formed their conscience by these sensible things; and made

proportion to the prevalence of the spirit of genuine piety. Christianity disowns the slothful and the filthy, as well as the dishonest and the morally impure.

it familiar to them to own that nothing is hidden from Him, and that it is not sufficient to be pure in the eyes of men alone. Tertullian understands these laws so, when he says, *He has prescribed every thing, even in the common transactions of life, and the behaviour of men both at home and abroad, so far as to take notice of their very furniture and vessels; so that, meeting every where the precepts of the law, they might not be one moment without the fear of* GOD *before them.* And afterwards, *to aid this law, which was rather light than burthensome, the same goodness of* GOD *also instituted prophets, who taught maxims worthy of him.*[c] WASH YE, MAKE YE CLEAN; PUT AWAY THE EVIL OF YOUR DOINGS FROM BEFORE MINE EYES, &c.[d] So that the people were sufficiently instructed in the meaning of all these ceremonies, and outward performances.

This is the foundation of those laws which order bathing and washing one's clothes after having touched a dead body or unclean creature, and upon several other accidents.[e] Thence comes the purifying of vessels by water or fire, and of houses where there appeared any corruption, and of women after child-bearing, and the separation of lepers;[f] though the white leprosy, which is the only sort mentioned in Scripture, is rather a deformity than an infectious disease.[g]

[c] In Marc. l. ii. c. 19. [d] Isaiah i. 16.
[e] Lev. xi. 24, &c. xiii. 58. Numb. xxxi. 23.
[f] Lev. xii. 1, &c. Ib. xiii. 1, &c. Ib. xiv. 48.
[g] Aug. ii. Quæst. Evang. 40.

It belonged to the priests to separate lepers, to judge of other legal impurities, and order the manner of their cleansing. Thus they practised a branch of physic; and though *physicians* are sometimes mentioned in Scripture,[h] it is probable *surgeons* are meant: for the antients made no distinction betwixt these two professions. The law speaks of them, when it condemns him that hurts another to pay the physician's charges:[i] and in other places we read of bandages, plasters, and ointments;[k] but no where, that I can tell, of purges, or a course of physic. King Asa, who had the gout, is blamed for putting too much confidence in physicians.[l] Perhaps the Israelites still followed the same maxims as the Greeks of the heroic ages, when physicians, as Plato informs us,[m] applied themselves to nothing but healing wounds by topical remedies, without prescribing a regimen; supposing that other illnesses would be prevented or easily got over by a good constitution, and the prudent management of the sick. As for wounds, they must of necessity happen sometimes from divers accidents, even in the course of hard labour only.

The Israelites avoided conversing with strangers; and it was a consequence of those laws that enjoined purifications and distinction of meats. For though most of their neighbours had similar

[h] Gen. l. 2. 2 Chron. xvi. 12. Job xiii. 4. Jer. viii. 22. Isaiah iii. 7.

[i] Exod. xxi. 19.

[k] Isa. i. 6. Jerem. viii. 22. xlvi. 11.

[l] 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

[m] iii. Rep.

customs, they were not altogether the same. Thus, an Israelite had always a right to presume that any stranger he met with had eaten swine's flesh, or the sacrifices offered to idols, or had touched some unclean beast. Whence it came, that it was not lawful to eat with them, nor to go into their houses. This distance was also of consequence to their morals, serving as a fence against too great a familiarity with strangers, which is always pernicious to the generality, and which was still more so at that time because of idolatry. The Egyptians were strict observers of this maxim: the Scripture takes notice that they would not eat with the Hebrews;[a] and Herodotus says, they would neither salute a Greek, nor make use of his knife or plate.[b] The Mohammedans have several customs of the same nature at this day; but the Hindoos have more, and observe them with the greatest superstition.[c]

They did not keep at an equal distance from all sorts of strangers, though they comprehended them all under the name of גוים *Goim*, or *Gentiles*. They abhorred all idolaters, especially those that were not circumcised: for they were not the only people that practised circumcision; it was used by all the descendants of Abraham, as the Ishmaelites, Midianites, and Idumeans; and the Ammonites

[a] Gen. xliii. 32.

[b] Herod. ii. This superstition the Egyptians carried so far, that they would not eat the flesh even of a clean animal, that had been cut up with the knife of a *Greek*.

[c] For several of these customs see the supplementary Chapter. Appendix, No. II.

and Moabites that were descended from Lot. The Egyptians themselves, though their original was in no case the same with the Hebrews, looked upon circumcision as a necessary purification, and held those unclean that were not circumcised.[q] As for the Israelites, they bore with the uncircumcised that worshipped the true GOD, so far as to let them dwell in their land, provided they observed the laws of nature and abstinence from blood. But if they got themselves circumcised, they were reputed children of Abraham, and consequently obliged to observe the whole law of Moses. The Rabbins call these last *proselytes of justice;* and the faithful that were not circumcised they call *proselytes by abode,* or *Noachides,*[r] as being obliged to observe no precepts but those that GOD gave to Noah when he came out of the ark. In Solomon's time there were one hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred proselytes in the land of Israel.[s]

The strangers that the Israelites were most of all obliged to avoid were the nations that lay under a curse, as descended from Canaan, whom GOD had commanded them to root out. I find none but them, as I said before, with whom it was not law-

[q] Herod. lib. ii. p. 116. Edit. Steph. 1592. The same author says, that the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians, are the only nations in the world who have used circumcision from the remotest period, απ' αρχης: and that the Phœnicians and Syrians, who inhabit Palestine, acknowledge they received this from the Egyptians.

[r] Selden de Jure Nat. [s] 2 Chron. ii. 17.

ful to marry.[t] Moses married a Midianite.[u] Boaz is commended for having married Ruth the Moabite. Absalom's mother was the king of Geshur's daughter.[x] Amasa was the son of an Ishmaelite, and of Abigail, David's sister.[y] Solomon married the king of Egypt's daughter, soon after he came to the crown, and at the time when he was most in God's favour:[z] therefore what the Scripture afterwards says, to blame his marrying with strange women, must be understood of the Canaanitish women whom he married, and that, instead of endeavouring to convert them, he paid them such a criminal complaisance as to worship their idols.[a]

Much more were marriages free among the Israelites; and it was not necessary for every one to marry in his own tribe, as many, even of the fathers of the church, have thought. This law was peculiar to heiresses, that inheritances might

[t] Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3.

[u] If our author's comment be right, Dr. Warburton is mistaken in saying Solomon transgressed a law of Moses, when he married Pharaoh's daughter. *Div. Leg.* Book iv. sect. 5. 2d Edit. And Dr. Jortin might less admire Theodoret's parallel between Moses and Christ, in that the former married an Ethiopian woman, and the latter espoused the Church of the Gentiles. There was nothing so particular in the marriage of Moses; and if there had been, the similitude, I think, would have been closer, if Moses had married two wives, for the Jews were the first fruits of the Gospel. See Dr. Jortin's *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* Vol. i. p. 209.—E. F.

[x] 2 Sam. iii. 3.

[y] 1 Chron. ii. 17.

[z] 1 Kings iii. 1.

[a] 1 Kings xi. 1.

not be confounded.[b] Besides, David married Michal the daughter of Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin: and another of his wives was Ahinoam of Jezreel, a city of the tribe of Ephraim.[c]

CHAP. X.

Their Women and Marriages.

FROM the manner in which the Israelites lived, marriage was no incumbrance to them; it was rather a convenience, for which it was originally

[b] Heiresses were obliged to marry not only within their own *tribe*, but within their own *family*. Numb. xxxvi. 6. *Let them marry to whom they think best; only to the* FAMILY *of the* TRIBE (or HOUSE) *of their fathers shall they marry.* And that the Jews so understood the law, appears from Judith viii. 2. Tobit iii. 15. This I chose to observe, because a late ingenious writer, who would seem to have examined this point, says, *it does not appear that there was any other obligation even upon heiresses, than to marry only within their own* TRIBE. Dr. Middleton's reflections on the inconsistencies which are found in the four Evangelists, in his Works, 8vo. Vol. ii. p. 399. Not only the words of the law, and the practice of the Jews, but Grotius and the other commentators which he had before him, expressly taught him otherwise. See likewise Kidder's Dem. of the Messiah, Part ii. p. 416—17, where the reader, if he pleases, may find three or four other of the Doctor's assertions fully confuted.—E. F.

[c] 2 Sam. iii. 2.

designed. The women were laborious as well as the men; and wrought in the house, whilst their husbands were at work in the fields.[a] They dressed the victuals, and served them up, as appears from Homer, and from several passages in Scripture. When Samuel describes the manners of the kings to the people, he says, *Your king will take your daughters to be confectioners, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.*[b] The pretence which Amnon the son of David made use of to get his sister Tamar near him when he debauched her, was that he might eat meat at her hands,[c] which she dressed herself, notwithstanding she was a king's daughter.

The women made wearing apparel; and their common employment was weaving stuffs, as making cloth and tapestry is now. We see in Homer the instances of Penelope, Calypso, and Circe, employed in the same way. There are examples of it in Theocritus, Terence, and many other authors.[d] But what appears most wonderful to me is, that this custom was still retained at Rome, among the greatest ladies, in a very corrupt age: since Augustus commonly wore clothes of his wife's, sister's, and daughter's making.[e] For a proof out of Scripture, it is said that Samuel's mother made him a little coat, which she brought him upon festival

[a] We learn from Herodotus, lib. 2. p. 115. Edit. Steph. 1592, that the Egyptian women were treated in the same manner.

[b] 1 Sam. viii. 14. [c] 2 Sam. xiii. 6.

[d] Theoc. Idyll. 15. Ter. Heaut. Act ii. Sc. 2.

[e] Suet. Aug. 78.

days;[f] and we see the virtuous wife in the Proverbs *seeking* wool and flax, and laying her hands to the spindle,[g] and giving two suits of clothes to all her servants.[h]

All this work is done under shelter, and in the house, and does not require great strength of body: for which reason the antients did not think them fit employments for men, but left them to the women, as naturally more inclined to stay in the house, and neater, and fonder of such sort of things. And this is probably the reason why women were generally door-keepers, even to kings. There was only one servant maid at the gate of king Ishbosheth,[i] who was busy in picking corn. And

[f] 1 Sam. ii. 19. [g] Prov. xxxi. 13, 19, 21.

[h] Here our author follows the Vulgate, which translates Prov. xxx. 21,—*Omnes enim domestici ejus vestiti sunt duplicibus;* and we, *for all her household are clothed with scarlet;* and in the Margin, or *double garments;* for שנים *shanim,* signifies either.—E. F.

But *double clothing* seems to be chiefly intended, because the clothing referred to is for a defence from the *cold;* in which case *scarlet* could avail no more than any other colour: therefore, *our* translation is evidently improper.

[i] *Et ostiaria domûs purgans triticum obdormivit,* 2 Sam. iv. 5. The reader must not expect to find this in our Bible, because the Hebrew has it not. The Vulgate took it from the Seventy. However, what our author asserts is notorious: for the women spoken of, Exod. xxxviii. 8, were probably door-keepers, as well as those *who assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation,* 1 Sam. ii. 22. Athenæus says, the keepers of the king's palace in Persia were women, lib. xii. Deipnos. c. ii. and Chardin says it was so lately. And *the damsel that kept the door* in the Gospel, John xviii. 17, every body remembers. —E. F.

David, when he fled before Absalom, left ten women, who were his concubines, to keep his palace.[k] The women lived separated from the men, and very retired, especially widows. Judith lived in this manner, shut up with her women, in an apartment upon the top of the house;[l] and so did Penelope in Homer.[m]

The Israelites made great feasts and rejoicings at their weddings. They were so dressed out, that David could find no fitter comparison to describe the splendour of the sun, than that of a bridegroom. The feast lasted seven days; which we see as early as the times of the Patriarchs. When Jacob complained that they had given him Leah for Rachel, Laban said to him, *Fulfil the week of the marriage.*[n] Samson, having married a Philistine, made feasts for seven days, and the seventh day the feast ended.[o] When young Tobias had a mind to go home, his father-in-law pressed him to stay two weeks, doubling the usual time, because they were never to see one another again.[p] This is the constant tradition of the Jews, and their practice is agreeable to it.[q] Whoever thoroughly studies the Song of Solomon will find seven days plainly pointed out to represent the first week of his marriage.[r]

We see in the same Song the friends of the

[k] 2 Sam. xv. 16. [l] Judith viii. 4, 5.
[m] Odyss. lib. i. ver. 328—330. [n] Gen. xxix. 27.
[o] Judg. xiv. 12, &c.
[p] Tobit viii. 20. [q] Cod. Talm. Pirke Aboth, cap. xvi
[r] Seld. Uxor, Heb. ii. c. 3. Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. c. 28.

bridegroom and the companions of the bride, who were always at the feast.[s] He had young men to rejoice with him, and she young women.[t] In the gospel, there is mention made of the bridegroom's friends, and of the virgins who went forth to meet the bride and bridegroom.[u] He wore a crown in token of joy, and she too[w] according to the Jewish tradition. They were conducted with instruments of music, and their company carried branches of myrtle and palm-tree in their hands.[x]

As for any thing farther, we do not find that their marriages were attended with any religious ceremony, except the prayers of the father of the family, and the standers by, to intreat the blessing of God. We have examples of it in the marriage of Rebecca with Isaac,[y] of Ruth with Boaz,[z] and of Sara with Tobias.[a] We do not see that there were any sacrifices offered upon the occasion; or that they went to the temple, or sent for the priests: all was transacted betwixt the relations and friends, so that it was no more than a civil contract.

As to circumcision, it was really a religious act; and absolutely necessary, at that time, for all that

[s] Song of Sol. v. 1. [t] Jud. xiv. 11.

[u] Matt. ix. 15, xxv. 1, &c.

[w] Isaiah lxi. 10. The Chaldee paraphrast renders it, *as the high priest is adorned with his vestments*, that is, magnificently, which the Vulgate translates *quasi sponsum decoratum coronâ*, and the Seventy in the same manner: and them our author follows, according to custom.—E. F.

[x] Pirkè Aboth, c. xix. Selden, c. xv.

[y] Gen. xxiv. 60. [z] Ruth iv. 11. [a] Tob. vii. 13.

would enter into the covenant of Abraham.[b] But yet it was performed in private houses, without the ministry of priests or Levites. If any person of a public character was sent for, it was a sort of surgeon used to the operation, whom they called *Mohel:* and such sort of people the Jews have still.[c] In all these ceremonies we must take care not to be imposed upon by modern pictures, as I observed before about clothes.

The Israelites were so far from being afraid of having many children, that it was what they particularly wished for. Besides their natural inclination, they had great motives to it from the law. They knew that GOD, when He created the world, and repaired it after the deluge, had said, *Increase and multiply in the earth;* that He had promised Abraham a numerous posterity: in a word, that from among them was to be born the Saviour of the world. We may add to this, that they were not influenced by those sordid considerations, which cause a numerous offspring to be looked on in the present day as a misfortune.

By reason of their frugal way of life, they were

[b] See Part IV. c. 1.

[c] מוהל *mohel, a circumciser*, from the Chaldee מהל *mahal, he circumcised.* When the operator has performed the act, he pronounces the following benediction: "O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, strengthen this child, and preserve him to his parents: and let his name among the people of Israel be; (*here the name is first given*) Let his father rejoice and be glad for that which is descended from his loins; and let his mother be delighted with the fruit of her womb." How simple, appropriate, and rational.

at a small expence in feeding them whilst they were little; and less in clothing them, for in those hot countries they often let them go naked; and when they grew up, they helped them in their work, and saved the expence of slaves or hired servants: and indeed they had but few slaves in proportion to their work. Ziba, Saul's servant, ploughed Mephibosheth's estate with his fifteen sons and twenty servants.[d] They were in no pain about providing for their children, since they had no fortunes to raise for them: all their ambition was to leave their children the inheritance they had received from their ancestors, better cultivated if possible, and with a larger stock upon it. As for the daughters, they never inherited but in default of male issue;[e] they were sought in marriage more upon account of their families than their riches.

It was therefore a convenience, as well as an honour, to have a great many children. He was esteemed happy, who saw himself father of a large family,[f] and surrounded with a great number of children and grand-children, always ready to receive his instructions and execute his commands; and was under no apprehension of having his name forgotten whilst his posterity subsisted. *Children's children are the crown of old men,*[g] says the Scripture; and when it takes notice of the number of children, it is commonly in praise of their parents; as those two judges of Israel, one of whom had thirty

[d] 2 Sam. ix. 10.
[e] Numb. xxvii. 8.
[f] Psalm cxxvii. 3, 4, 6.
[g] Prov. xvii. 6.

sons, the other forty, and thirty grandsons;[h] as David, nineteen of whose sons are named,[i] besides those that he had by his concubines; Rehoboam, who had twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters;[k] and Abia, who had twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters.[l] In the same manner the poets make mention of the fifty sons of Priamus, for the Greeks had no less esteem for fruitfulness. Virginity, considered as a virtue, was at that time little known, and looked upon in the same light with sterility; and the women that died unmarried were reckoned unfortunate. Electra, in Sophocles, bemoans herself expressly upon it; and this was the occasion of the repining of Jepthah's daughter.[m] Hence, barrenness came to be a reproach to married women, as we see by Samuel's mother, and many others.[n] This misfortune was looked upon as a curse from GOD.

This care for posterity was the foundation of the law that enjoined a man to marry his brother's widow, when he died without children. A law, existing in the patriarchal times, as appears by the story of Tamar:[o] and looked upon as a duty, that the name of the deceased might not be forgotten; and so the children were reckoned his by a sort of adoption. From hence proceed the two genealogies of JESUS CHRIST; one, according to St. Matthew, and the other according to St. Luke.[p]

[h] Judg. x. 4. xii. 14.
[i] 1 Chron. iii. 1, &c.
[k] 2 Chron. xi. 21.
[l] 2 Chron. xiii. 21.
[m] Judg. xi. 31.
[n] 1 Sam. i. 2—6
[o] Gen. xxxviii. 3.
[p] Matt. i. Luke iii.

For thus it was found that Joseph had two fathers; one by whom he was begotten, and the other by legal adoption.[q] Besides, the marrying a sister-in-law was not contrary to the first law of nature, which allowed marrying even one's own sister, before God forbad it.

It was the desire of having a great number of children, that induced the Israelites to take several wives at a time, which they esteemed an honour, and sign of dignity. It is thus that Isaiah, to shew how much valued those of God's people should be whom He should preserve, says, that *seven women should take hold of one man,*[r] offering to live at their own expence, provided they had the honour to be called by his name. Thus it is likewise said, that Rehoboam had eighteen wives and threescore concubines; and that he gave many wives to his son Abia, whose he chose for his successor.[s]

They were yet very sparing in the use of marriage; they did not only abstain from it, whilst their wives were big with child, and otherwise indisposed, but all the time they were nurses, for two or three years together: and mothers did not often dispense with themselves from giving suck to their own children. We find but three nurses mentioned in the Scripture, that is, Rebecca's,[t]

[q] Commentators are greatly divided concerning these two genealogies. Some suppose that in St. Luke to be the gegealogy of the blessed Virgin; and that Heli said to be the *father of Joseph* was only his *father-in-law*, being the father of Mary.

[r] Isaiah iv. 1. [s] 2 Chron. xi. 21, 23. [t] Gen. xxiv. 59.

Mephibosheth's,[u] and she that nursed Joash, king of Judah.[w]

We ought not then to wonder that God tolerated polygamy, which was introduced before the deluge,[x] though it were contrary to the first institution of marriage. For when it was instituted in the terrestrial paradise, there was yet no concupiscence. Polygamy then was like divorces, which JESUS CHRIST told the Jews had never been allowed them but for the hardness of their hearts.[y] Besides wives, they had likewise concubines, who were commonly slaves: lawful wives had no other advantage over them, than the honour of having their children preferred to the inheritance. So that the name of concubinage had no ill signification, as with us. It was only a less solemn wedding.

This liberty, besides, was very far from rendering the state of matrimony more convenient; it made the yoke of it much heavier. A husband could not so equally divide his heart amongst many wives, as to please them all; which obliged him to govern them in an absolute manner, as the Eastern people still do. So that there was no longer any equality, friendship, or society in marriage. It

[u] 2 Sam. iv. 4.

[w] 2 Kings xi. 2. But besides these, it is said that Naomi was nurse to the child of Boaz and Ruth. See Ruth iv. 16.

[x] Gen. iv. 19. Lamech was the first polygamist on record; and, from all that the Scripture says concerning him, there is much room to fear he was not a very good man.

[y] Matt. xix. 8.

was still harder for the rival wives to agree among themselves: there was no end of divisions, cabals, and domestic quarrels. All the children of one wife had so many mothers-in-law, as their father had more wives: each espoused the interest of its own mother, and looked upon the children of the other wives as strangers, or enemies. Hence comes the way of speaking so common in Scripture, *It is my brother, and the son of my mother.* We see examples of these divisions in the family of David, and still worse in that of Herod.

The liberty of being set loose by divorce, had also very bad consequences. People engaged themselves more unwarily, and took less pains to please one another; and a man had it in his power to have so many wives that it was no better than an excuse for debauchery. We know the disorder there was at Rome, after the commonwealth; whereas, whilst good manners subsisted there, that is, till the year 523 from the foundation, there was no such thing as a divorce heard of, though it was permitted by the laws.[z] The children suffered very much by it too: they were orphans, even whilst their father and mother were living; and could scarcely avoid being hated by one of them, and taking part with one against the other.

[z] Gellius, iv, c. iii.

CHAP. XI.

The Education of their Children, their Exercises, and Studies.

THE education of children seems to have been very nearly the same among the Israelites as that of the Egyptians, and the most antient Greeks.[a] They formed their body by labour and exercise, and their mind by literature and music. Strength of body was greatly esteemed; and it is that for which soldiers are mostly commended in Scripture, as David's valiant men are.[b] Foot-racing must have been one of their chief exercises, since men were known by their running at a distance, as those who brought the news of Absalom's defeat; they must needs have seen them run often.[c] It is also said of Asahel, Joab's brother, that he was as light of foot as a wild roe.[d] Zechariah speaks of *a burdensome stone,*[e] which St. Jerom takes for one of those stones which served to try men's strength by seeing who could lift it highest.[f] For

[a] Plato Rep. 2, 3.
[b] 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, &c.
[c] 2 Sam. xviii. 27.
[d] 2 Sam. ii. 18.
[e] Zech. xii. 3.
[f] St. Jerom assures us, that this was an ancient custom in all the cities and towns of Palestine, which subsisted even in his days: and that he had seen a great brazen ball at Athens in the

which reason one may imagine they had that sort of exercise. The example of Jonathan shews they used to exercise themselves in shooting with the bow.[g]

But they did not make the exercise of the body their main business like the Greeks, who reduced it to a profession, and studied the greatest improvements in it. They called this art *gymnastic*, because they exercised themselves *naked*; and the schools *gymnasia*, which were spacious, magnificent, and built at a great expense.[h] There the best masters, with many assistants under them, formed the bodies of young people by a very exact discipline and regular exercise. Some took such delight in it, that they practised nothing else all their lives, and were wrestlers, &c. by profession. By this means they acquired prodigious strength; and brought their bodies into such exact shape, that they served as models for the finest statues. But in other respects it made them brutal, and incapable of any application of mind; nor were they even fit for war, or any sort of enterprise that deprived them of their usual diet or rest, or put them at all out of their regular way of living. The Hebrews were too serious to give in to these niceties; and it was an odious novelty to them, when there was an academy built at Jerusalem,

citadel, near the statue of Minerva, which was used to try the strength of the Athletæ, that those of similar powers might be paired together, that all circumstances on each side might be equal. See his comment on the above text.

[g] 1 Sam. xx. 20. [h] Hier. Mercurial. De Arte Gymnast.

under Antiochus Epiphanes, after the Greek fashion.[1] They were content with field labour, and some military exercises, as were the Romans.

Nor had they occasion for hard study to improve their mind, if by study we understand the knowledge of several languages, and reading many books, as we commonly mean by it. For they despised learning foreign languages, because that was as much in the power of slaves as those of higher rank.[2] Their native language was sufficient for them, that is, the Hebrew, in which the Scripture is written. It has a resemblance of their manners; the words of it are plain, all derived from few roots, and uncompounded: it has a wonderful luxuriance in its verbs, most of which express whole phrases. *To be great, to make great, to be made great,* are all simple words, which no translation can fully express. Most of the prepositions and pronouns are no more than single letters added to the beginning or end of other words. It is the most concise tongue we know, and consequently comes nearest to the language of spirits, who have little need of words to make themselves understood; the expressions are clear and weighty; they convey distinct and sensible ideas, and the farthest from bombast of all others.

The genius of this language is to make one proposition follow another, without suspending the sense, or perplexing us with long periods, which makes the style extremely clear. Thence it comes,

[1] 1 Macc. i. 14. 2 Macc. iv. 12.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 11.

that in their narrations, those that are concerned in them speak with the utmost plainness, and in their own persons, and do not scruple to use repetitions. They almost constantly relate the same thing in the same word. And this is what makes us, at first, think the Scripture style flat and heavy; but it is in reality a mark of good sense, solidity, and a clear head, in those who spoke in that manner. Though the style of the sacred books is very different, we do not find that the language altered from the time of Moses to the Babylonish captivity.

All their grammar then consisted, like that of the most ancient Greeks, in speaking in their own language well, and in writing and reading it correctly; with this difference, that it does not appear they had reduced it into an art, and learnt it by rules. Their letters were those which we call at present Samaritan, because the Samaritans have preserved them: and as they do not run well, nor are they easy to shape, it may reasonably be doubted, whether it was very common among the Israelites to know how to write: and the rather, as learned men are called in Scripture *Sopherim*, that is to say, *Scribes*, according to the old translations. Labouring people, too, have much less occasion for writing than merchants and men of business. But it is probable that most of them knew how to read; since it was recommended to all to learn the law of GOD, and meditate upon it day and night:[k] and this study was their whole employment upon the Sabbath days.[l]

[k] Deut. vi. 6, 7, &c.

[l] Joseph. Ant. lib. xvi. c. 2. s. 3. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv.

This book alone was sufficient to instruct them thoroughly; they saw in it the history of the world, till their settlement in the Promised Land; the rise of all the nations which they knew; and more especially of those they were most concerned to be best acquainted with, the descendants of Lot, Abraham, Ishmael, and Esau. There they saw the whole of their religion, its doctrines, ceremonies, and moral precepts; and there they found their civil laws. This volume alone, which is the pentateuch, or five books of Moses, contained all that they were obliged to know. Not because they had not many other books: for, to omit those of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and several that were written after, in the time of Moses *the book of the wars of the Lord*[m] is mentioned, and in other places *the book of Jasher*.[n] The books of Kings

[m] Numb. xxi. 14.

[n] Josh. x. 13. and 2 Sam. i. 18. Our author calls it *livre des justes*, after the Vulgate *liber justorum:* but the Chaldee paraphrast, *The book of the law:* the Syriac, *The book of Canticles*, in one place; and *The book of Ashir*, in the other. Now it may be doubted whether any of these come up to the original סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר that is, literally, *The book of the upright*, or, *The book which is right*, as the Seventy seem to have understood it, by translating it βιβλιον της ευθους. The sacred writer appeals to the authentic copy of Joshua and Samuel that was preserved by the high-priest, as the law was, Deut. xxxi. 26. and xvii. 18. it may be, in the tabernacle or the temple; for Josephus, when he mentions the sun's standing still, Ant. lib. v. cap. 1. says, *This is manifest by the writings deposited in the temple.* The Arabic in 2 Sam. i. 18. gives the passage a strange turn:—"Behold it is written in the book of Ashir, that is, the book of Samuel, the interpretation of which is the book of *Canticles.*"

often refer to the Chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel. Solomon wrote three thousand parables, and one thousand and five songs:[o] he wrote treatises upon all sorts of plants and animals, and he himself complains that *of making books there is no end.*[p] All these, and perhaps many others that we never heard of, are lost; as those of the Egyptians, Syrians, and other eastern people. The only books that remain of so great antiquity are such as God dictated to His prophets, and has preserved by a particular providence.

It is not at all likely that the Israelites studied the books of foreigners, from whom they were so careful to separate themselves. And this study might have been dangerous; since it would have taught them the impious and extravagant fables of which the theology of idolaters was composed. But they abhorred it to that degree, that they would not so much as pronounce the name of false gods;[q] and if they made part of any proper names, they changed them. Thus they said Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth, for Eshbaal and Meribbaal; Bethhaven for Bethel; and Beelzebub instead of Beelsemen.[r] These fables, which comprehend the

[o] 1 Kings iv. 32, 33. [p] Eccles. xii. 12.

[q] Psal. xvi. 4. Wisdom xiv. 27.

[r] Compare 1 Chron. viii. 33, 34, with 2 Sam. ii. 8. and iv. 4.

ESHBAAL, אשבעל *the fire of Baal*, or of the *Idol*, changed into ISHBOSHETH, איש בשת *the man of shame.*

MERIBBAAL מריב בעל *the contention of Baal*, changed into MEPHIBOSHETH, מפי בשת *from the mouth of shame*, both names

whole doctrine of false religions, were a heap of lies established by long tradition upon the foundations of antient truths, and embellished by the invention of poets. Mothers and nurses taught them to their children from their cradle; and sung them at their religious worship and feasts. The wisest of the heathens saw plainly that they tended only to create a contempt of the divinity, and corruption of manners: but the evil was past remedy.[s]

The Israelites were the only people that related truths to their children, capable of inspiring them with the fear and love of GOD, and exciting them to virtue. All their traditions were noble and useful: not but they made use of parables and riddles, besides simple narrations, to teach truths of great importance, especially to morality. It was a practice among the ingenious to propound riddles to one another, as we see by the instances of Samson,[t] and the queen of Sheba.[u] The Greeks tell

being intended to ridicule those which appear to have been imposed in honour of the idol.

BETHEL, בית אל *the house of God*, which, when Jeroboam set up the worship of his golden calves in it, was called BETHAVEN, בית און *the house* or *temple of iniquity*.

BEELSEMEN, בעל שמים *Lord* or *ruler of the heavens*, was through contempt changed into BEELZEBUB בעל זבוב *the fly god*, or *god of flies*; and BEELZEBUL בעל זבול *the god of dung*. In this latter form the word is read in the Greek Testament.

[s] Plato, Rep. ii. *in fine*, *et init.* iii.

[t] Judg. xiv. 14.

[u] 1 Kings x. 1. Our translation says, *she came to prove him with hard questions*: but the Abbé follows the Vulgate, *venit tentare eum in ænigmatibus*, which is the same with *ἐν αἰνιγ-*

us the same thing of their first sages.[x] They made use too of these fables, as Æsop did, the fiction of which is so plain that it can impose upon nobody. We have two of them in Scripture: Jotham's, the son of Gideon;[y] and that of Joash, king of Israel.[z] But the chief use of allegories and a figurative way of speaking was to comprehend the maxims of morality in a few words and under agreeable images, that children might learn them more easily; and such are the parables or proverbs of which the books of Solomon are composed.

These parables are commonly expressed in verse, and the verses were made to be sung; for which reason, I believe, the Israelites learnt music too. I judge of them by the Greeks, who had all their learning and politeness from the eastern people. Now it is certain that the Greeks taught their children both to sing and play upon instruments. This study is the most antient of all others. Before the use of letters, the memory of great actions was preserved by songs.[a] The Gauls and Germans retained the same custom in the times of the Romans, and it is still preserved among the people of America.[a]

μασι (*with riddles or enigmas*) of the Septuagint; which is the true import of the Hebrew word בחידות *bacheedoth*, from חדה chadah, *to penetrate*; because such sayings penetrated the mind, and engrossed the attention more than others.

[x] Plutarch. Comm. Sept. Sap.

[y] Judg. ix. 8. [z] 2 Kings xiv. 9.

[a] This custom prevailed also among the Hindoos, witness the great and ancient epic poem of India, the *Mahabarat*; among

Though the Hebrews had letters, they knew that words in measure and set to a tune were always best remembered; and from thence proceeded that great care which they always took to compose songs upon any important event that had happened to them. Such are those two songs of Moses:—one at passing through the Red Sea;[b] the other a little before he died, to recommend the observation of the law.[c] Such likewise is that of Deborah,[d] that of Samuel's mother,[e] and many others; but, above all, the Psalms of David. These poems are wonderfully instructive, full of the praises of God, the remembrance of His loving kindness, containing besides moral precepts, and such sentiments as a good man ought to have in every station of life. Thus the most important truths, and exalted notions, were agreeably instilled into the minds of children by poetry set to music.

And that was the right use of them. God, who created great geniusses and fine voices, designed, without doubt, that the owners should employ them to recommend virtue, and not to foment criminal passions. The Greeks themselves own, that the most antient and best sort of poetry was the lyric, that is to say, hymns and odes in praise of the Deity, and calculated to inspire virtue.[f] Dramatic

the Persians, witness the famous *Shah Nameh* of Ferdoosee; among the Irish, Welsh, and Scotch, witness the remains of their ancient *bards*, Ossian, Urran, Oscar, &c.

[b] Exod. xv. 1, &c.
[c] Deut. xxxii. 1, &c.
[d] Judg. v. 1, &c.
[e] 1 Sam. ii. 1—10.
[f] Plato, leg. vii.

poetry, which consists only in imitation, and aims at nothing but to divert by moving the passions; was of later invention. We see nothing of it among the Hebrews; and though Solomon in his Song makes different persons speak, it is more to express their sentiments in a lively manner, than to represent an action, as is done in theatrical performances.[g]

There are no remains of the Hebrew music, but there are several of the structure of their verse;[h] and if we may judge of the beauty of their songs by that of the words, they must have been excellent; grave and serious, but affecting and diversified. And if we may form an opinion of them from their effects, the Scripture seems to impute supernatural ones to them. We see, by the instance of Saul, who found himself well and refreshed when David played upon the harp, that their music charmed evil spirits.[i] The sound of their instruments likewise became a means which the Spirit of God sometimes used, when He spake by the prophets, as we find by the example of those whom Saul met, as Samuel had foretold, and with whom he himself entered into holy transports of joy;[k] and by that of Elisha, who asked for a player upon a minstrel, that he might prophesy:[l] that is, this music appeased the motion of the spi-

[g] See the Supplement to this Chapter, Appendix, No. III.

[h] See Lowth's Dissertation on the Poetry of the Hebrews, and Kennicott's Hebrew Bible.

[i] 2 Sam. xvi. 23. [k] 1 Sam. x. 5.

[l] 2 Kings iii. 15.

rits and humours which the devil had troubled in those whom GOD had permitted him to act upon; and such hearts as it found quiet and pure it lifted up to GOD, and warmed them, and so disposed them to receive the powerful impressions of His Spirit the more effectually. The Greeks tell us of the wonderful effects of their music to excite or calm the passions; and, unless we contradict all history, it must be owned that the music of the antients was more affecting than our's.

Not that it was an uncommon thing amongst them, for they were all musicians: and, to confine myself to the Hebrews, and speak only of such as were professed musicians, there were in David's time *four thousand* Levites appointed for that purpose only,[m] under the direction of *two hundred and eighty-eight* masters,[n] the chief of whom were Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, so often named in the titles of the Psalms. David himself was a great poet, and excellent musician; and it is very well known how much the inclination of kings conduces to the improvement of arts. They had great variety of wind instruments, as trumpets, and flutes of different sorts; besides drums, and instruments with strings. The two that are most frequently mentioned are *kinour* and *nabel*, which the Greeks have changed into *kinyra* and *nabla*. So that when we represent David with a harp, it is only by guess. They had instruments of eight and ten strings.

[m] 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. [n] Ib. xxv. 7.

The singing of the Greeks was accompanied with dancing: for that is the meaning of the word *chorus* or *choir*, which the Latins have taken from the Greeks, and which signified with them a company of dancers clothed and decked out in the same uniform.[o] They sang together, and danced in a ring, being sorted according to their age and sex, young men and maids, old men and wives, without mixing one with the other. Now, it is not to be supposed that the Hebrew dances were less modest.—Choirs are mentioned at the procession which David made to carry the ark into Sion, and upon occasion of several victories, where it is said that the maidens came out of the cities dancing and singing.[p]

I do not perceive that the Israelites had any public schools, or that the young men went from their fathers' house to study. Their laborious way of living did not admit of it. Their fathers had occasion for their assistance in their work, and brought them up to it from their childhood. So the word *school*, in Greek, signifies *leisure*,[q] as being the place where such people met, who, having no urgent business, endeavoured to amuse themselves in an innocent manner: and the Latin word *ludus*, which signifies *play*, conveys the same idea. I

[o] χορος, *a dance*, and often in the profane writers a *company of dancers*: hence χορηγεω, which signifies not only *to lead a dance*, but also to furnish that kind of *uniform* used by the chorus or company of dancers.

[p] 2 Sam. vi. 5, 14, 15, 20. and 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7.

[q] Σχολη, from σχολαζω, *to be unemployed*.

imagine, then, that their learning was chiefly acquired from the conversation of their fathers and old men, without much reading or regular lessons.

Parents were obliged to inform their children of the great things GOD had done for them and their fathers: and upon that account the law commanded them so often to explain the reasons of their feasts and other religious ceremonies.[r] These instructions, thus joined to sensible objects, and so frequently repeated, could not fail of having their due weight. They taught them, besides, every thing relating to husbandry, adding continual practice to their lessons. And we cannot doubt of their being very expert in it, considering that for so many ages it was their sole employment. Now, though this art be followed amongst us, by uncultivated people, who seldom reflect upon any thing, it nevertheless contains a great extent of knowledge much more useful to mankind than that speculative sort which is reckoned *learning*. And though we were to allow nothing to be science but what we find in books, both the antients and moderns have written sufficient on this subject to recommend it to our esteem.[s]

An Israelite, therefore, who by the tradition of

[r] Deut. vi. 7, 20.

[s] The works of Cato, Varro, Palladius, the Georgics of Virgil, and many others, contain many important lessons concerning agriculture; which shew us that it had been carried to great perfection in antient times. In the present day it is become a science of the first importance, many of the nobility, gentry, and literati, cultivating it with the utmost assiduity and success.

his fathers, by his own experience, and some reading, was instructed in his religion, the laws that he was to regulate his life by, and the history of his own nation, who knew how to provide himself with all the necessaries of life; who thoroughly understood the nature of different soils, and the plants that are proper for them, the method and time to be observed in planting them; what precautions are to be taken against the several accidents that destroy the fruits of the earth, how they are to be gathered and preserved; who understood the nature of cattle, how they are to be fed, the distempers they are liable to, with the cure of them, and many other things of the same kind, which most of those that reckon themselves men of breeding and letters know nothing of. This honest Israelite, methinks, would be full as valuable a man as one bred in our inns of court, exchequer, or in the wrangle of the schools. For it must be owned that, in these latter ages, *curious studies* have been too far divided from those that are *useful*; the cultivation of the mind, and the improvement of the manners, from a due regard to one's business and health. Most of those who are so solicitous about their intellects take too little care of their persons, and become unfit for action and bodily labour. Nay, many grow so effeminate, by giving themselves to music, poetry, and other studies of a curious nature, that, with a a very high opinion of their fine genius and pretended merit, they lead an inactive and despicable life.

There were, however, some Israelites that applied themselves particularly to study; and may be called learned men, according to our own ideas. It is said, that in David's time there were *men in the tribe of Issachar who had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do.*[t] And commentators say, that they observed the stars, to regulate the feasts and the whole course of the year by them. The prophet Malachi says of priests in general, that *their lips should keep knowledge, and that they should seek the law at their mouth.*[u] One of their chief functions therefore was, to teach the law of God in the meetings which were held in every city on the Sabbath-day, and which the Greeks called Συναγωγαι, *synagogues*, or Εκκλησιαι, *churches*;[x] for both words signify almost the same thing. Other learned men were appointed to speak there too, especially such as were acknowledged to be prophets inspired by God. These were the public schools of the Israelites, where they did not teach curious knowledge, but religion and good manners; where they did not instruct children only, and some particular persons who had nothing else to do, but the people in general.[y]

None but the priests and prophets undertook to compose books, especially history.[z] It was the

[t] 1 Chron. xii. 32. [u] Malachi ii. 7.

[x] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv.

[y] Such were the schools of the prophets at Naioth in Ramah, where Samuel presided, 1 Sam. xix. 19, 20, &c. and at Bethel, where Elijah and Elisha gave public instructions.

[z] Joseph. cont. App. i. c. 2.

same in Egypt. Their priests renounced all worldly affairs. They led a very serious and retired life, wholly employed in the service of the gods, and the study of wisdom. They spent the day in the offices of religion; and the night in mathematical contemplations, for so they called the study of the heavens. They were the only historians. So the most antient Roman histories were the annals of their high-priests.

We see in Scripture history the character of their authors. It appears that they were very serious and very wise men; old, and of great experience, and well informed of what passed. There is neither vanity, nor flattery, nor affectation, in them to shew their wit: whereas all these foibles are to be discovered in the Greeks; every one of whom had liberty to write, and most of them aimed at nothing but their own glory, or that of their nation. The Hebrew historians do not set down their own names; nor do they ever conceal any circumstance that appears disadvantageous to themselves, or their sovereigns. They that wrote the history of David have been as particular in the account of his greatest crime as in any of his most righteous actions.

They make neither preface nor transition; they only relate facts in a sclear a manner as possible without any mixture of reasoning or reflections. But if we examine well, we shall find that they chose the facts, which were proper for their purpose, with wonderful judgment: and this makes their stories very short; though, upon important

occasions, they enter into the most exact detail, and set the action before the reader's eyes in very lively colours.[a] It is plain they leave out reflections and exaggerations on purpose, by their knowing so well how to apply them in discourses where they have a mind to work upon the passions. So Moses, in Deuteronomy, makes use of the strongest and most expressive figures to magnify and expatiate upon what he had only plainly related in the preceding books. Thus the prophet Isaiah barely relates the defeat of Sennacherib,[b] after having exaggerated, when he foretold it, in a style that is truly poetical.

The Hebrews were not less to be admired in all their other ways of writing. Their laws are written with clearness and brevity. Their maxims of morality are contained in short sentences, adorned with agreeable figures, and expressed in a concise style; for all this serves to make them remembered. In fine, the poetry is sublime, the descriptions lively, the metaphors bold, the expressions noble, and the

[a] This observation of the judicious Abbé is fully justified by several relations in the Old Testament; but particularly by that in 1 Sam. iv. 12—17, where a man of Benjamin, who had escaped from the army, announced to the High-Priest, Eli, the total overthrow of the Israelites by the Philistines. "Israel is fled before the Philistines, and there has been also a great slaughter among the people; and thy two sons also, Hophni and Phineas, are dead, and the ark of GOD is taken." What an amazing detail of facts in a few words. An ordinary writer would at least have spent a whole page in detailing these particulars.

[b] Isaiah xxxvi. 1, &c. compared with xxxvii. 37, 38.

figures wonderfully varied. But it would require whole books to treat of their eloquence and poetry in such a manner as they deserve.[c]

Though they wrote by Divine inspiration, I do not think it necessary to impute all their eloquence to it. They were only inspired to speak truth, and to make use of no word that was unfit to declare the mysterious designs of God: but for any thing more, the Holy Ghost made use of their natural manner of expression. This is plain from the different styles of the prophets, and still more so from the likeness they all bear to the most antient profane writers. Homer, Herodotus, Hippocrates, tell a story in the same way. Hesiod's instructions are written in the like manner.[d] The elegies of Theognis and Solon resemble the exhortations of Moses and the prophets. We see in Pindar, and the choruses of Tragedians, great boldness and variety of poetry; and the more antient the Greek authors are, the more they resemble the Hebrews, both in the distinction of style, according to the nature of the work, and in their conciseness and propriety of expression.

People may imagine that the Hebrews wrote in this manner by the pure strength of their genius; and that the goodness of their judgment prompted them to reject what was not suitable to the design of any work, and to make use of what was fittest

[c] See Bishop Lowth's Dissertation, and his Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of the Prophet Isaiah.

[d] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. *et alibi.*

to instruct or affect. For my own part, when I see that they never fail to observe a difference of style, and they apply all the ornaments of true eloquence so properly, I am rather inclined to believe they had already some rules, taken from the experience of their fathers, either in writing or by tradition among the learned. We must not imagine that the Greeks *invented* eloquence and poetry: the greatest share they had in it was giving names to the figures, and framing all that artificial language in which the knowledge of grammarians and rhetoricians consisted, but which alone never made either orators or poets. The rudiments of the art were discovered long before; for the world was not young at that time: it had existed nearly three thousand years before Solomon, and it is nearly three thousand since. Before his time men's lives were long, and there had been no inundations of barbarians in the countries where arts and sciences had their origin.

CHAP. XII.

The Politeness of the Israelites.

TO return to the common sort of the Hebrews. As they were so well instructed, and born in a country where people are naturally ingenuous,

they could not fail of being polite: for we are not to suppose *that* inconsistent with a country life and bodily labour. The example of the Greeks plainly proves the contrary. I mean by politeness here, in general, whatsoever distinguishes us from barbarous nations: on one side, humanity and civility, demonstrations of friendship and respect in the common transactions of life; and on the other, prudence in business, address and propriety of behaviour, and all that comes under the denomination of good conduct.

As to civility, the Greeks, living for the most part in commonwealths, were so jealous of their liberty that they treated one another as equals; and their compliments went no farther than shewing esteem and friendship, in which the Romans imitated them. The civilities of the eastern people came nearer to ours, and were more respectful. They called those *Lords* whom they had a mind to honour, made vows of obedience to them. and bowed themselves to the earth before them, which the Scripture calls *adoring* or *worshipping*.

The Hebrews did so even before they had kings, as early as the time of the Patriarchs: which proceeded, in all likelihood, from the customs of the neighbouring people, who had long been subject to masters. It was not reckoned ill manners to say *thou* and *thee* to each other; all the antients spoke in that manner, and most nations still do so. It was not till about the decay of the Roman empire that the *plural* began to be used in speaking to *one* person.

It was usual to kiss in saluting: and instead of uncovering, as we do, out of respect, they pulled off their shoes when they went into sacred places, as the eastern nations do to this day. Uncovering the head was a sign of mourning.[a]

We see examples of their compliments in those of Ruth,[b] Abigail,[c] the woman of Tekoah,[d] whom Joab employed to get Absalom recalled, and Judith.[e] All these are examples of women, who are generally more complaisant than men. They liked to speak in parables and ingenious riddles. Their language was modest and chaste, but in a different way from ours. They said *the water of the feet,* for urine; and *to cover the feet,* for easing nature; because in that action they covered themselves with their mantle, after they had dug a hole in the ground.[f] They said *the thigh,* when they meant the parts which modesty forbids to name. In other respects they have expressions that seem very harsh to us; as when they speak of conception and the birth of children, of women that are fruitful or barren; and make no scruple of naming some infirmities of both sexes which we make use of circumlocution to express.

All these differences proceed only from distance of time and place. Most of the words, which are

[a] The Easterns sometimes kiss the beard of the person they wish to honour: at other times they kiss the ground before him.

[b] Ruth ii. 10, 13.
[c] 1 Sam. xxv. 23, 41.
[d] 2 Sam. xiv. 4, 9, 17.
[e] Judith x. 23.
[f] Deut. xxiii. 13.

now immodest according to the present use of our language, were not so formerly, because they conveyed other ideas; and the eastern people, especially the Mohammedans, are ridiculously nice about certain indecencies that have no influence upon the manners, whilst they give themselves great liberty in the most infamous pleasures. The Scripture speaks more plainly than we should do of conjugal affairs, because there was not one Israelite that renounced marriage, and they that wrote were grave and commonly old men.[k]

As for prudence, good or bad conduct, address, complaisance, artifice, and court intrigues, the history of Saul and David furnishes us with as many examples of them as any other with which I am acquainted.

[k] The Mohammedans *affect* a sort of delicacy in speaking of *matrimonial* connections, and subjects of this nature; yet their language, I mean the Arabic, has a greater number of impure and obscene terms than any other language under the sun: the proportion of these terms is so great, when compared to the whole language, that one is almost led to conclude that they are a people of the most impure mind, and that their land is as a country of brothels.

CHAP. XIII.

Their Amusements.

THEIR easy and quiet life, added to the beauty of the country, inclined them to amusements; but such as were rational, and easy to be procured. They had scarcely any but music and conviviality. Their feasts, as I have before observed, were made of plain meat, which they had out of their own stock: and their music cost them still less, since most people knew how to sing and play upon some instrument. Old Barzillai names only these two pleasures, when he was too far advanced in years to relish life.[a] The author of Ecclesiasticus compares *a concert of music in a banquet of wine to a signet of carbuncle set in gold.*[b] So Ulysses frankly owned to the Phæacians, that he knew no greater happiness than a feast accompanied with music.[c] We see the same pleasures mentioned in

[a] 2 Sam. xix. 35. [b] Ecclus. xxxii. 5, 6.

[c] Odyss. lib. viii. The amusements or pleasures of the Phæacians are, by their king Alcinous, summed up in the following lines:—

Αιει δ' ημιν δαις τε φιλη, κιθαρις τε, χοροι τε,
Ειματα τ' εξημοιβα, λοετρα τε θερμα, και ευναι.
Odyss. viii. ver. 24.

Our pleasures are the feast, the harp, the dance,
Garments for change; the tepid bath, the bed. Cowper.

those passages of Scripture, where the prophets reproached those that abused them: but they added excess of wine, crowns and flowers, and perfumes, as we see the Greeks and Romans did.[d]

We have a catalogue of the perfumes which the Hebrews made use of in the Song of Solomon, and many other places of Scripture; but especially in the law, where it prescribes the composition of two sorts that were to be offered to God; the one wet, and the other dry.[e] The drugs there named for making them are the most odoriferous that were known, before musk and ambergrise were found out.

They loved eating in gardens under arbours and shady places; for it is natural in hot countries to seek coolness and fresh air. So when the Scripture describes a time of prosperity, it says that every one ate and drank under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, which fruit-trees have the broadest leaves.[f]

Their employment in country labour did not allow of their feasting or following their diversions every day, as most of the rich do now; but it served to make them relish them better. They had therefore stated times of rejoicing; sabbath-days, and all other feasts taken notice of in the law, weddings, dividing the spoil after victory, sheep-

[d] Amos vi. 4, 6. Isaiah v. 11, 12. Ibid. xxviii. 3.
[e] Exod. xxx. 23, &c.
[f] 1 Kings iv. 4, 5. Mic. iv. 4. Zech. iii. 10.

shearing, harvest and vintage, in each particular estate, where the neighbours came together to assist each other.[g] It is well known that the feasts of Bacchus and Ceres had their rise among the Greeks from such rejoicings; and we still see some footsteps of it among the country people.[h] The Israelites had no profane shews. They were contented with the ceremonies of religion, and the pomp of sacrifices; which must needs have been very great, since the temple was the most magnificent building in the whole country, and there were *thirty-two-thousand* Levites appointed for its service.

I do not perceive that they had either *gaming* or *hunting*, which are reckoned with us among the highest diversions. As to gaming, it seems as if they were entirely ignorant of it, since we do not so much as once find the name of it in the whole Scripture. Not but the people of Lydia had already invented games, if what is said of them be true.[i] But to this day the Arabians, and some other eastern nations, play at no games of hazard; at least if they observe their law. As to hunting, either beasts or birds, it was not unknown to the

[g] Isaiah ix. 3. Ibid. xvi. 9, 10.

[h] In the feast usually made at the conclusion of harvest, and bringing home the corn.

[i] Herodotus says, *Clio*, p. 45. that "the Lydians invented the plays of dice, tennis, tables, &c. (Εξευρεθηναι δη ων τοτε και των κυβων, και των ασραγαλων, και της σφαιρης) to divert and amuse them in a time of great scarcity:" but the account is accompanied with such circumstances as render it incredible.

Israelites. But it looks as if they followed it rather for furnishing their tables, and preserving their corn and vines, than for pleasure; for they often speak of nets and snares: but we do not find that even their kings had either dogs or any hunting equipage. It would no doubt have made them *odious* to have hunted *over ploughed lands, or bred beasts* to do *mischief.*[k] Hunting prevails chiefly in the vast forests and untilled lands of cold countries.

CHAP. XIV.

Their Mourning.

AFTER rejoicings, let us speak of their mourning and signs of affliction. The antients did not only go into mourning upon the death of relations, but as often as any misfortune happened to them: and it did not consist merely in changing dress. The causes of it were either public calamities, as a *mortality,* a *general scarcity,* an *invasion;* or private misfortunes, as the *death* of a *relation* or *friend,* on account of his being *dangerously ill,* or *taken captive,* or when one was *accused* of a *crime.*

[k] As it does those who employ themselves in this *unmanly* and *destructive* exercise in the present day.

The signs of mourning among the Israelites were, tearing their clothes as soon as they heard of any ill news, or if they happened to be present when any great wickedness was committed, as blasphemy, or any other sin against God;[a] to beat their breast; to put their hands upon their head;[b] uncover it, and throw dust or ashes upon it, instead of perfumes, which they used in the times of joy; to shave the beard and hair off. On the contrary, the Romans, who used to shave, let their hair grow in the time of mourning.

As long as the mourning lasted, they were neither to anoint nor wash themselves, but wear their clothes dirty and torn, or else put on sackcloth, which was a straight garment without folds, and consequently was very uneasy: they called it also hair-cloth, because the stuff was made of coarse camelot, or something else that was coarse or rough. They bared the feet as well as head, but had their face covered.[c] Sometimes they wrapped themselves up in a mantle, that they might not see light, and to hide their tears. They fasted at the same time that they mourned; that is, as long as they were in mourning, they either ate nothing at all, or not till after sun-set; and then only plain food, as bread, or herbs, and drank nothing but water.

They continued shut up, sitting upon the ground, or lying in the ashes, keeping a profound silence,[d] and not speaking but to bemoan themselves, or

[a] 1 Kings xxi. 27.
[b] Jerem. ii. 37.
[c] Ezek. xxiv. 17.
[d] Lament. ii. 10.

sing some doleful song. Mourning for a dead person commonly lasted *seven days:*[e] sometimes they continued it a *month,* as for Aaron and Moses;[f] and sometimes *seventy days,* as they did for the patriarch Jacob.[g] But some widows mourned their whole lives; as Judith, and Anna the prophetess.

Thus their mourning was not, like ours, a mere ceremony, in which the rich only observe some set forms. It was attended with all the natural consequences of real grief: for a person in affliction takes no care of his dress, or of keeping himself clean; he can hardly resolve to eat; he speaks not, or, if he does, it is only to bewail himself; he goes not abroad, and avoids all diversions. The Israelites were not the only people that mourned after this manner: the Greeks and Romans did so long after; for St. Chrysostom describes it to be pretty much the same in his time.[h] I do not doubt but some acted a part; and did all that I have mentioned, without being in any great concern: those however that were in earnest were at liberty, if they pleased, to indulge themselves in it.

But, in general, both the Israelites and all the antients followed nature more than we, and were under less constraint in venting their passions.

[e] 1 Sam. xxxi. 13.

[f] Numb. xx. 29. Deut. xxxiv. 8.

[g] Gen. l. 3. But this seems to have been an Egyptian custom rather than one peculiar to the Hebrews; for it is expressly said that it was *the Egyptians* who *mourned for him* (Jacob) *threescore and ten days.*

[h] Chrysost. ad Demetr. De Compunct. T. 6.

They sang and danced, when they were pleased; and wept and cried aloud, when they were grieved. When they were afraid, they owned it frankly; and in their anger, they abused one another heartily. Homer and the tragic poets furnish us with examples in every page. See what affliction Achilles is in for the death of Patroclus, and in Sophocles the bitter lamentations of Œdipus and Philoctetes. Philosophy and Christianity have now corrected the outward behaviour in those that are well bred, and have a good education. They are taught to speak like heroes or saints; though most are not at all better at the bottom, and are contented to disguise their passions without conquering, or even striving against them.

CHAP. XV.

Their Funerals.[a]

THEIR funerals will fall in pretty well here with their mourning. The antients in general took great care about them; and looked upon it as a terrible misfortune that their bodies, or those of their friends, should lie exposed to be torn by wild beasts

[a] For ample information on the subject of this chapter, see *Joan. Nicolai de Sepulchris Hebræorum*, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1706.

and birds, or to putrefy above ground, and infect the living. It was a consolation to rest in the sepulchre of their fathers. Instead of burning the bodies, as the Greeks did, to preserve the ashes, the Hebrews buried the common sort of people, and embalmed persons of distinction to lay them in sepulchres. They also sometimes burnt perfumes over the corpse. At the funeral of Asa, king of Judah, it is said, *they laid him on a bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art; and they made a very great burning for him;*[b] and that this was customary appears from other passages. They embalmed almost in the same manner as the Egyptians, wrapping the corpse in a great quantity of drying spices. After this they laid it in the sepulchre, which was a little cavity or closet, cut in the rock so artfully that some had doors to shut, which turned upon hinges, and a table to lay the body upon, all cut of the same stone. There are still many of them to be seen.

They who attended the funeral were in mourning, and wept aloud, as they did at the burial of Abner.[c]

There were women that made a trade of crying upon these occasions, and joined the mournful sound of flutes with their voices.[d] In fine, they

[b] 2 Chron. xvi. 14. compared with 2 Chron. xxi. 19. and Jerem. xxxiv. 5.

[c] 2 Sam. iii. 31.

[d] Jerem. ix. 17. Matt. ix. 23. This ceremony is still kept up among the native Irish, in what is termed their *Caoinian*,

composed songs instead of funeral orations for illustrious persons that came to an unfortunate end. Such were those that David made upon the death of Saul,[e] and Jeremiah the prophet upon that of Josiah.[f]

Though burying the dead was a duty of piety, yet there was no religious ceremony used at it: on the contrary, it was a profane action, and rendered all those unclean that were concerned in it, till they were purified; because all dead bodies are either actually corrupted, or in a state that tends to it. Thus priests were so far from being necessary at burials, that they were absolutely forbidden to assist at any, except of their very near relations.[g] When Josiah designed to root out idolatry, he caused the bones of the false prophets to be burnt upon the altars of the idols,[h] to inspire his people with a greater abhorrence of them.

or funeral cry. Between the customs of the antient Irish and those of the antient Hebrews there is a striking similarity: this may afford matter for curious speculation.

[e] 2 Sam. i. 17.
[f] 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.
[g] Lev. xxi. 1, 2, 3.
[h] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 5.

CHAP. XVI.

Their Religion.

WHAT has been said relates to the private life of the Israelites. We come now to their religious and political government. I shall not at present be very prolix in explaining their creed: we ought to be acquainted with it, for it is contained in our own. I shall only observe, that some truths were revealed to them clearly; whilst others were still obscure, though they were already revealed.[a]

What they knew distinctly was this:—That there is but one GOD;[b] that He governs all things by His providence;[c] that there is no trust to be put in any but Him, nor good to be expected from any one else;[d] that He sees every thing, even the secrets of the heart;[e] that He influences the will by His inward operation, and turns it as He pleases;[f] that all men are born in sin, and naturally inclined to evil;[g] that, however they may do good, yet only by GOD's assistance;[h] that they are free, and

[a] Jos. cont. App. lib. ii. c. 8. [b] Deut. iv. 39. vi. 4.
[c] Psalm civ. cxxv.
[d] Psalm lxii. Isaiah xxxvi. xxxvii. Jer. xvii. 6—8.
[e] Psalm cxxxix. [f] Prov. xxi. 1.
[g] Psalm li. 5. Gen. vi. 5.
[h] Deut. xxx. 6. Exek. xxxvi. 25, 27.

have the choice of doing good or evil;[j] that GOD is strictly just, and punishes or rewards men according to their works;[k] that He is full of mercy and compassion for those that sincerely repent of their sins;[l] that He judges the actions of all men after their death;[m] whence it follows that the soul is immortal, and that there is another life.

They knew besides that GOD, out of His mere loving kindness, had chosen them from among all mankind to be His faithful people;[n] that from them, of the tribe of Judah, and the family of David, should be born a Saviour,[o] that should deliver them from all their hardships, and bring all nations to the knowledge of the true GOD. All this they knew very clearly; and it was the most usual subject of their prayers and meditations. This was that exalted wisdom which distinguished them from all the people of the earth. For whereas, in other nations, none but the wise men knew some of these great truths, and that but imperfectly, and had different opinions about them;[p] all the Israelites were instructed in this doctrine, and did not vary the least in their notions about it.[q]

[j] Deut. xxx. 19, 20.
[k] Psalm xvii. 1. 6. xc. 1, &c.
[l] Deut. xxxii. 1, 2. Exod. xxxiv. 7. Numb. xiv. 18.
[m] Eccles. viii. 11. xi. 9. xii. 14. Wisd. ii. 23. How far this was their *general* belief I must leave to be settled between Dr. Warburton and his opponents. It is a subject, however, that continually occurs in their most antient writings, such as the Talmud, Mishna, &c.
[n] Deut. vii. 6. ix. 5, 6.
[o] Gen. xlix. 10. Isa. xi. 1, 10.
[p] Orig. cont. Cels.
[q] Joseph. lib. ii. App. 6.

The truths they were taught more obscurely, were, that in God there are Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;[r] that the Saviour they expected should be God, and the Son of God;[s] that He should be both God and Man at the same time;[t] that God would not give men His grace, and the assistance necessary to perform His law, but through this Saviour, and upon account of His merits;[u] that He should suffer death to expiate the sins of mankind;[x] that His kingdom should be altogether spiritual; that all men shall rise again;[y] that in another life there shall be a just reward for the good,[z] and punishment for the wicked. All this is taught in the Scriptures of the Old Testament: but not so clearly that all the people knew it; neither were men capable at that time of bearing such sublime truths.

But my design is only to explain in what the outward practice of their religion differed from our customs. They had only *one temple*, and *one altar* on which it was lawful to offer sacrifice to God: this was a symbol of God's unity; and this building was the most magnificent in the whole world, to represent also His sovereign Majesty. It was not

[r] Gen. i. 26. Psalm xxxiii. 6. Isaiah xlviii. 16.
[s] Prov. xxx. 4. [t] Isai. vii. 14.
[u] Psalm xiv. 6, 7. Gen. xxii. 18.
[x] Isaiah liii. 5, 6, 11. Dan. ix. 26. [y] Job. xix. 25—27.
[z] Psalm xvii. 15. See this particularly stated in the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on Gen. iv. 8. where Abel is represented as vindicating the doctrines of the immortality of the soul and future rewards and punishments against the infidel objections of his brother Cain.

one only building, like most of our churches; but a great enclosure, comprehending courts surrounded with galleries, and several offices for the different courses of Priests and Levites, besides the body of the temple. The temples of other nations, as the Egyptians and Chaldeans, had also large edifices adjoining to them, and stood upon a great deal of ground: but they always planted trees about them; whereas the Israelites would not suffer any to grow near theirs, that they might keep entirely free from the superstition of groves, which the Pagans held sacred.

The body of the temple was sixty[a] cubits long, and twenty broad, and thirty high, without reckoning the *holy of holies*, which joined to it on the same floor, and was twenty cubits in length, and twenty in breadth, and twenty in height.[b] At the

[a] We find two different cubits in the Scripture; one of them equal (as Dr. Arbuthnot says) to an English foot, nine inches and 888 thousandth parts of an inch; being a fourth part of a *fathom*, double the *span*, and six times the *palm*. The other equal to one foot and 824 thousandth parts of a foot, or the 400th part of a *stadium*. The Romans too had a cubit equal to one English foot, five inches and 406 thousandth parts of an inch. Father Mersenne makes the Hebrew cubit one foot four digits and five lines, with regard to the foot of the capital. According to Hero, the geometrical cubit is 24 digits: and according to Vitruvius, the foot is two-thirds of the Roman cubit, *i. e.* sixteen digits or finger's breadths. The Scripture says here, the cubits were *after the first measure*. Vid. 2 Chron. iii. 3.—E. F.

[b] 1 Kings vi. 2, 3, 20. Jos. Ant. lib. xv. c. ult: et De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 6.

entrance there was a porch that supported a great tower a hundred and twenty cubits high, and twenty broad.[c] I leave the learned to judge of the proportions. But I must desire those that think the temple small, to consider, that the people were never to go into it; only the priests, and such as waited on them; and that at stated times, morning and evening, to light the lamps, and offer bread and perfumes. The high priest was the only person that entered into the sanctuary where the ark of the covenant stood; nor did he go in oftener than once a year.

The whole temple and sanctuary too were wainscoted with cedar, adorned with carvings, and all covered with plates of gold. On the outside it was surrounded with two cedar-floors, which made three stories of *chambers* for different uses.[d] Before the temple, in a great court, was the altar for holocausts, or whole burnt offerings, that is to say, a platform thirty cubits square and fifteen high. The priests went up to it by an easy ascent without steps, to place the wood and victims in order. In the same court were ten great brazen basons set upon rolling bottoms; and that which was supported by twelve oxen the Scripture calls the *brazen sea.*

This court belonged to the priests, especially that part betwixt the altar and the porch; for the laity might advance as far as the altar to present their victims and slay them, when they offered

[c] 2 Chron. iii. 4. 1 Kings vi. 3. [d] Cœnacula.

sacrifices. The Levites stood upon the stairs of the porch, which faced the temple, to sing and play upon musical instruments.[e] The court of the priests was enclosed with galleries, and surrounded with a first court much larger, which was the usual place for the people, where the women were separated from the men, and the Gentiles might not come any farther than to stand under the galleries which made the enclosure of the first court. There were several parlours, chambers, and storehouses, for different uses, adjoining to these galleries of each enclosure.[f]

They had treasuries for the sacred vessels of gold and silver, which were so numerous, that even at their return from the captivity they brought home five thousand four hundred;[g] vestries likewise for the sacerdotal habits; [h]and storehouses, where they laid up the offerings set apart for the maintenance of the priests and Levites, widows and orphans; and what was committed to their charge by private people.[i] For it was customary with the antients to deposit what was given for the public in temples.[k] In other places, they kept wine and oil for the libations, salt to season all the sacrifices, and the lambs that had been picked out to be offered at the evening and morning

[e] Ezek. xl. xli. xlii.

[f] Gazophylacia, Pastophoria, Thalami, Exedræ, vid. Jer. xxxv. 4. in the Vulgate.

[g] 1 Esd. ii. 14. [h] Ezek. xliv. 19.

[i] 2 Chron. xxxi. 11. 2 Macc. iii. 10.

[k] Talmud. Cod. Middoth.

sacrifice, which was never omitted. In other places they made shew-bread, and what other pastry was necessary for the sacrifices. They had kitchens for the flesh of the victims; eating rooms for the priests and guard of the Levites, that kept the doors and watched the temple day and night; besides lodgings for those of them that were musicians;[1] one, where the Nazarites were shaved after their vow; another, to examine lepers in; a hall where the chief council of seventy elders was held; and other rooms of the same nature, with which we are not so particularly acquainted. So many fine regular buildings gave, no doubt, a high idea of the Great King that was served in that sacred place.

They offered four lambs every day for an holocaust, two in the morning, and two in the evening: and this is what is called *the continual sacrifice.*[m] On sabbath and festival days the sacrifices were multiplied in proportion to the solemnity, without reckoning the offerings of private people, which were daily very numerous.

We are offended at these bloody sacrifices which made the temple a sort of shambles: but it was the same amongst other nations; and the Israelites had taken sufficient precautions for performing these sacrifices with all the cleanliness and decency imaginable. The situation of the temple con-

[1] Ezek. xl. 44.

[m] תמיד tameed, Heb. ενδελεχισμος, Sept. *juge sacrificium.* Vulgate.

tributed to it: for it, as it was upon a mountain' they had many drains underneath to carry off the blood and nastiness. The peculiar part of the priests' office was only to pour out the blood, light the fire, and lay the pieces upon it that were to be offered.[n] There were others to kill the victims, prepare them, cut them in pieces, and dress them; we see it in the laws and the story of the sons of Eli.[o] The priests never did those things but at the public sacrifices that were offered for all the people.

After this we are not to think the comparison of a *pot* strange, which we read of in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, to represent Jerusalem.[p] These two prophets were priests, and used to see the sanctified meat dressed. Now they esteemed every thing honourable that was employed in the service of GOD, and the performing of the law: besides, it was usual for the very best of people to work with their own hands, and do the necessary offices of life themselves, as we said before. Thus, in Homer, king Agamemnon kills the lambs with his own hands,[q] the blood of which was the seal of the treaty he had made with the Trojans. Thus, when

[n] Lev. iv. 10. [o] 1 Sam. ii. 13.

[p] Jer. i. 13. Ezek. xxiv. 3, 4.

[q] Iliad iii. ver. 271—292.

And Agamemnon, drawing from its sheath
At his huge falchion's side, his dagger forth.—
He said, and pierc'd the victims: ebbing life
Forsook them soon; they panted, gasp'd, and died.

COWPER.

Nestor sacrificed to Minerva, his own sons kill the victims, cut the flesh in pieces, and broil it.[r] Homer abounds with examples of this sort, not only when he is speaking of religious matters, but upon other occasions; as when Achilles entertained the messengers of the other Grecian generals.

As to the rest, every thing that is prescribed by the law relating to the quality of victims, and the manner of performing the sacrifices, tended rather to cure the Israelites of their superstitions by confining them to a few ceremonies, than to introduce new ones.[s] Idolaters sacrificed in more places, used more ceremonies, and a greater variety of animals:[t] for they had every where temples and altars, and each family had their domestic gods and particular superstitions. Thus GOD prepared His people in a distant manner for the abolishing bloody sacrifices; telling them often, at the same time by His prophets, that He had no need of them, that they were not essential to religion, and that the worship most agreeable to Him was gratitude and purity of heart.[u]

It was necessary for the priests to be married, as the priesthood was annexed to the family of Aaron: but they parted from their wives during the time of their officiating, and drank neither wine nor any other liquor that could intoxicate.[x] The same

[r] Odyss. iii. ver. 448—460.
[s] Tertull. in Marc. lib. ii. c. 18. [t] Herod. lib. ii. c. 40.
[u] 1 Sam. xv. 22. Psalm l. 8, &c. Isaiah lxvi. 3.
[x] Lev. x. 9.

abstinence may be observed among idolaters, especially the Egyptians: and their priests wore nothing but linen, and shoes made of the plant *papyrus*, that gives name to *paper*, that they might not have any thing about them that came from dead beasts, and tended to corruption. The Israelitish priests officiated barefoot, but with linen garments on. They were forbidden to wear any woollen, and put off those sacred vestments when they came out of their court to go into that of the people.[y] The priests and all the Levites led a pastoral life, (so dear to the patriarchs,) when they were not upon duty, and had no other substance than their flocks: for they were excluded from any share of land, to wean them the more from temporal cares, and give them greater leisure to employ themselves in the affairs of religion. Yet they were wealthy, when the people paid them justly what was ordered by the law; for, though there were fewer of that tribe[z] than of any else, they had tithe of all fruits gathered by the other twelve, and consequently their share was the largest. They had besides the firstlings of all animals, without reckoning their own cattle; and the daily offerings, on which the priests lived when they served at the altar.

I do not perceive that they were excluded from any civil office: they bore arms like other men, and the priests sounded the trumpet in the army,

[y] Ezek. xliv. 17.

[z] About a thirtieth of the whole. Nearly a twenty-seventh part, Numb. i. 32. iii. 43.; and one thirty-second in 1 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. xxiii. 3.—E. F.

and upon all other occasions;[a] for they made use of silver trumpets to proclaim the feasts, and call the people to public prayers; and the name of *Jubilee* is derived from a ram's horn, which was sounded to give notice of the opening of this festival.[b] The antient monks of Egypt observed the custom of blowing a trumpet at the hours of prayer; for the use of *bells* is more modern.

The feasts of the Israelites were the Sabbath; the first day of each month, called in our translations calends, or *new-moon;* the three great feasts of the *passover, pentecost* and *tabernacles,* instituted in memory of the three greatest blessings they received from GOD, the coming out of Egypt, the promulgation of the law, and their settlement in the Promised Land, after their journeying in the wilderness, where they had so long lodged under tents.[c] These great solemnities lasted seven

[a] 2 Chron. xiii. 12.

[b] Numb. x. Joseph. Ant. iii. 12. Lev. xxv. 9. Jubilee, in Hebrew יובל yobel, comes, according to some, from יבל yabal, *to bring,* or *carry along.* There is no evidence that it ever signifies a *ram's horn,* though translated so in a few places of our English version: but none of the antient versions acknowledge this sense of the word, except the Chaldee. Josephus says it signifies *liberty,* ελευθεριαν δε σημαινει τουνομα, Ant. lib. iii. c. 10. p. 96. Edit. Colon. 1691. What authority he had for this interpretation of the word I know not: but it is full as likely as the Rabbinical definition *ram's horn,* which is now commonly imposed upon it. Calmet derives it from חוביל hobeel, *to cause to bring back,* or *recal,* because estates, &c. which had been alienated, were then *brought back* to their primitive owners. This appears to be the true derivation of the word.

[c] Lev. xxiii.

days, probably in memory of the week of the creation.

Their year consisted of twelve months, each of thirty days,[a] very little different from our's. Thus we find it regulated from Noah's time, as appears by the date of the deluge: but it is thought it began then at the autumnal equinox. Moses was ordered to begin it in spring, in the month Abib, which was that of the passover;[b] and it is with respect to the first month that the others are reckoned, which are only named from their number. They agree very nearly with our Roman months, the names of which come from the old year that began in the month of *March*. Thus the *eighth* month was *October*, at least part of it; the *ninth* happened in *November*; and so on. They computed their month by the moon, at least in later times; not astronomically, but according to its appearance, from the day that they, whose business it was, had declared the new moon, which was the day after it appeared.

The feasts of the Israelites were true feasts, that is to say, times of real joy. All the men were obliged to be at Jerusalem at the great feasts of the the passover, pentecost, and tabernacles; and the women were permitted to come too. The concourse was then very great; the people dressed and adorned themselves in their best clothes. They

[a] In Gen. vii. 11. compare with viii. 3, 4, we see one hundred and fifty days are equal to five months.

[b] Exod. xiii. 4.

had the pleasure of seeing all their friends and relations: they assisted at the prayers and sacrifices, which were always accompanied with music: after that followed the feasts, in which they ate the peace-offerings in this magnificent temple. The law itself commanded them to rejoice, and join sensible mirth to spiritual.

We must not wonder, therefore, if it was agreeable news to hear that a feast was nigh, and that they were soon to go to the house of the LORD; that they esteemed those happy that spent their life there;[f] that they went thither in great troops, singing and playing on instruments; and that, on the contrary, they thought themselves unhappy when they could not be there, which David so often laments in his exile.[g]

CHAP. XVII.

Their Fasts and Vows.

FASTING days were quite the reverse of festivals. Upon those they did all that I have related in speaking of mourning: for fasting and mourning with them were the same thing. It did not

[f] Psalm cxxii. 1. lxxxiv. 1, &c.
[g] Psalm xlii. 4. xliii. 3, 4.

consist therefore only in eating *later*, but being afflicted in all respects. They spent the whole day without eating or drinking till night.[a] Thus the Jews still fast, and the Mohammedans, who herein imitate both them and the primitive Christians.[b] They observed a strict silence, put on sackcloth and ashes, and expressed every other sign of affliction. The public fasts were proclaimed by sound of trumpet, as well as the feasts:[c] all the people at Jerusalem met together in the temple, and at other places in the public square; they read lessons out of the law; and the most venerable old men exhorted the people to confess their sins, and repent of them. They never married upon those days; such as were already married separated themselves from their wives.

The law had appointed but one fast day, the tenth of the seventh month, which was the feast of atonement:[d] but from the time of the prophet Zechariah they reckoned three more; one in the fourth month, one in the fifth, and another in the tenth.[e] They had extraordinary fasts; some in public calamities, as the dearth which Joel speaks of; others upon particular misfortunes, as David's fast for the sickness of his child that was the offspring of his great crime,[f] for the death of Abner,[g]

[a] Isaiah lviii. 5.

[b] See an enumeration of the fasts of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, Appendix, No. IV.

[c] 1 Kings xxi. 12. Joel ii. 15, 16, &c.

[d] Lev. xvi. 29, &c.

[e] Zech. viii. 19.

[f] 2 Sam. xii. 16.

[g] 2 Sam. iii. 31.

and upon many other occasions mentioned in the Psalms.[h] In fine, they had fasts which they imposed upon themselves out of pure devotion, or to perform some vow; for they were very strict in keeping their vows and oaths. As to vows, the instance of Jephthah is but too convincing:[i] and for oaths, Joshua kept the promise he made to the Gibeonites,[k] though it was obtained by a manifest fraud, because he had sworn to them by the name of the LORD. Saul had resolved to put Jonathan to death for transgressing the order he had made with an oath,[l] though Jonathan offended only through ignorance; and we see many more examples of it. They entered into such solemn engagements very seriously, and did not allow themselves any latitude in interpreting them. Swearing by the name of GOD was an act of religion;[m] for this oath distinguished the Israelites from those that swore by the name of false gods: this is to be understood of lawful and necessary oaths, such as are taken in a court of judicature.

Their vows consisted usually in offering some part of their substance to GOD, either for His service in sacrifices, or to be set apart by itself. Thence came those great treasures in Solomon's temple, which were made up of the offerings of David, Samuel, Saul, Abner, and Joab.[n] It was chiefly of the booty taken from enemies. The

[h] Psalm xxxv. 13, 14. lxix. 10, 11.
[i] Judg. xi. 35.
[k] Josh. ix. 19.
[l] 1 Sam. xiv. 27.
[m] Psalm lxiii. 11.
[n] 1 Chron. xxvi. 27.

Gentiles made such offerings in the temples of their false gods, sometimes upon other occasions: we need no other example than the temple of Delphi, and the rich presents that Crœsus sent to obtain favourable oracles.[o]

The most considerable vow was that of the Nazarites, who obliged themselves for so long a time to drink no wine nor strong drink, nor to cut their hair; and to keep themselves carefully from all legal impurities, particularly from coming near dead bodies.[p] The rule of the Rechabites seems to be founded upon such vows. The author of it was Jonadab the son of Rechab,[q] who lived in the time of Jehu, king of Israel, and the prophet Elisha. He forbad his children to drink wine, build houses, to plant, have lands, or vineyards.[r] They abode therefore under tents, employing themselves, in all probability, as the Levites did, in breeding cattle, and exactly imitating the pastoral life of the patriarchs. They were married, and inviolably observed this rule in their family at least one hundred and eighty years, for we cannot tell what became of them after the captivity.

[o] Herodot. lib. i. p. 21, 22.
[q] 2 Kings x. 15.
[p] Numb. vi. 1—21.
[r] Jerem. xxxv. 6.

CHAP. XVIII.

Their Prophets.

ANOTHER sort of religious people, and much more considerable (than the Rechabites) were the prophets. There was a great number of them from Samuel's time: witness that company which Saul met, who prophesied at the sound of instruments, transported by the Spirit of God;[a] and that other company which prophesied before Samuel, and seem to have been his disciples.[b] But it does not appear that there ever were so many as from the days of Elijah and Elisha to the Babylonish captivity. They lived separate from the world, distinguished by their habit and manner of life; they dwelt upon mountains, as Elijah and Elisha did upon Carmel and Gilgal. The rich woman, who lodged Elisha when he went by Shunem, had a chamber, as I said, built and furnished for him,[c] where he lived so retired, that he did not speak so much as to the person who entertained him, but made his servant Gehazi speak to her for him: and when she came to entreat him to raise her son to life again, Gehazi would not let her touch the prophet's feet.[d] When Naaman, general of the Syrian

[a] 1 Sam. x. 5.
[b] 1 Sam. xix. 20.
[c] 2 Kings iv. 10.
[d] 2 Kings iv. 27.

armies, came to him to be cured of his leprosy, he sent him word what to do, without being seen by him.[e]

Two other of this prophet's miracles shew that his disciples lived in societies; that of the herb-pottage which he made wholesome, and that of the barley bread which he multiplied;[f] which shews also the plainness of their food. There were a hundred prophets that lived together in this society, and they wrought with their hands; for, finding their lodgings too straight, they went themselves to cut down wood to build with, and were so poor that one of them was obliged to borrow a hatchet.[g]

Their dress was sack-cloth or hair-cloth, that is, *mourning*, to shew they were always in affliction for the sins of the people. Thus, to describe Elijah, they said, *he was a man clothed in a hairy garment, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins.*[h] Thus, when GOD bids Isaiah undress himself, he orders him *to loose his sackcloth from off his loins.*[i] It appears that the two great prophets mentioned in the Revelation were both clothed in sackcloth.[k]

The prophets, at least some of them, were nevertheless married men; and that widow, whose oil Elisha multiplied, was a prophet's widow.[l] It seems also as if their children followed the same profession; for the prophets are often called *sons*

[e] 2 Kings v. 10.
[f] 2 Kings iv. 38, 41, 43, 44.
[g] 2 Kings vi. 5.
[h] 2 Kings i. 8.
[i] Isaiah xx. 2.
[k] Rev. xi. 3.
[l] 2 Kings iv. 1.

of the prophets; which made Amos say, *I was no prophet, nor prophet's son, but only a herdsman;*[m] to shew that he did not prophesy by profession, but by an extraordinary call. For though GOD most frequently made use of such as led a prophetic life to declare His will, yet He was under no obligation not to make revelations to any one else.

Yet commonly none were reckoned prophets but such as led that sort of life: whence it comes that the writings of David, Solomon, and Daniel, are not put by the Jews among the prophetic books;[n] because the two first were kings, living delicately and magnificently, and the other a Persian governor, who also lived at court, and in the hurry of the world: but this distinction is not attended to by our LORD, who expressly calls Daniel a prophet. *Matt.* xxiv. 15.

These holy men, after the patriarchs, preserved the purest tradition of the true religion: their employment was meditating upon the law of GOD; praying to Him often day and night, both for themselves and others; and inuring themselves to the practice of every virtue. They instructed their disciples; explained to them the spirit and meaning of the law; and opened to them the sublime mysteries relating to the state of the church, either upon earth, or in heaven, after the Messiah should come, that were hidden under allegories of things sensible, and seemingly mean. They instructed the people too who came to hear them upon Sab-

[m] Amos vii. 14. [n] Ecclus. xlix. 10.

bath and other feast days. They reproved them for their vices, and exhorted them to repent, often foretelling, from GOD, what was to happen to them.[o] This liberty which they took of speaking the most disagreeable truths even to kings caused them to be hated, and cost many of them their lives.

However, there were many impostors, who counterfeited the outward demeanour of true prophets, wore sackcloth as they did, spake the same language, pretending they were also inspired by GOD:[p] but they took care not to foretel any thing that would be disagreeable either to the prince or the people. The false gods also had their prophets, as the eight hundred and fifty whom Elijah caused to be slain.[q] Of the same sort were the soothsayers among the Greeks, who were called *Manteis*, *μαντεις*, as Calchas and Tiresias in the times of the heroes: such likewise were they that gave out oracles, or made money of them; and the poets, who said they also were inspired by the gods. For they did not mean to have it thought that they said so only in a poetical manner, but to cause it to be believed that they really were: and in fact these false prophets, either by the operation of the devil, or some artifice, became transported, and spake in an unusual style, to imitate the visible effects which the Spirit of GOD produced in the true prophets. Now those Israelites, that were

[o] 1 Kings xxi. 20.
[p] Zech. xiii. 4.
[q] 1 Kings xvii. 19, 40.

not thoroughly confirmed in their religion, lay under great temptations to consult those diviners and false oracles; and it was a part of idolatry into which they were very subject to fall, during the whole period of which we are speaking.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Idolatry.[a]

THIS propensity to idolatry among the Israelites appears to us very strange and absurd; and hence many have imagined they were a brutish and unpolished people. We see no idolaters now; we only hear it said that there are some in the Indies, and in other remote countries.

But all people that live about us, Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, preach only one GOD Almighty. The most ignorant country people know this truth distinctly; we conclude, therefore, that such as believed more gods than one, and adored pieces of wood and stone, ought to be accounted the most ignorant of mankind, and perfect barbarians. However, we cannot call the Romans,

[a] On the origin and progress of idolatry, See *Maimonides de Idolatriâ, cum interpretatione et notis Dionysii Vossii*, 4to. Amst. 1642, which contains a great variety of curious matter.

Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, and other people of antiquity, ignorant and barbarians, from whom all arts, human learning, and politeness, have been handed down to us: neither can we deny that idolatry reigned among them in the most absolute manner, at the very time when in every thing else they were perfectly ingenious and polite. Let us stop here then a little, and search into the source of this evil.

The mind of man is so overcast since the Fall, that, whilst he continues in the state of corrupted nature, he has no notion of spiritual things: he thinks of nothing but matter and corporeal subjects, and makes light of whatsoever does not fall within the compass of his senses; nor does any thing appear even substantial to him, but what strikes the grossest of them, the taste and touch. We see it too plainly in children, and men that are guided by their passions: they make no account of any thing but what they can see and feel; every thing else they look upon as castles in the air. Yet these men are brought up in the true religion, in the knowledge of GOD, in a belief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state. What sentiments had the antient Gentiles, who never heard these things mentioned, and had only objects of sense and matter laid before them by their wisest men? We may read Homer, the great divine and prophet of the Greeks, as long as we please; we shall not find there the least hint that can induce us to imagine he had any notion of things spiritual and incorporeal.

Thus all their wisdom was employed in what relates to the body and senses. The design of their bodily exercises, and all that gymnastic regimen which they made so much noise about, was to preserve and increase their health, strength, dexterity, and beauty; and they carried that art to the utmost perfection. Painting, sculpture, and architecture, delight the eyes; and they had advanced them to such a pitch, that their villas, cities, and whole country, were full of entertaining objects, as we see by the descriptions of Pausanias. They excelled also in music; and, though poetry seems to strike deeper than the senses, it reaches no farther than the imagination, which has the same objects, and produces the like effects. Their laws, and most antient rules of morality, all relate to the senses; providing that their lands should be well cultivated, that each particular person should have enough to live comfortably upon, that men should marry healthy and fruitful wives, that children should be educated so as to have strong constitutions and be fit for war, and that every body should be protected from being injured either by strangers or bad neighbours.

They studied the good of the soul so little, that they depraved it extremely by the too great care they took in improving the body. It was of dangerous consequence to expose statues and pictures, even the most obscene, in every part naked and uncovered: and the danger was still greater to painters and sculptors, who copied from the life. No matter, there was a necessity for gratifying the

lust of the eyes. It is well known at what a degree of debauchery the Greeks were arrived by these fine customs: they practised the most abominable lewdness, and not only practised but held it in esteem. Their music and poetry likewise, fomenting the same vices, both excited and kept up jealousies and mortal hatred betwixt the poets, the actors, and spectators: and particular characters were cruelly slandered and pulled in pieces; but this never gave them any concern, provided the spectacles were diverting, and the songs such as entertained them.

The same may be said of their religion: instead of improving, it was prejudicial to their morals. Now the rise of all these evils was man's forgetting himself and his spiritual nature. All mankind had preserved a constant tradition that there was a nature more excellent than the human, capable of doing them good or harm; and being acquainted with none but corporeal beings, they would persuade themselves that this nature, that is, the Divinity, was so too: and consequently that there were many gods; that every part of the creation might have some; and that each nation, city, and family, had deities peculiar to itself. They fancied they were immortal; and, to make them happy, attributed to them all sorts of pleasures, (without which they thought there could be no true felicity,) and even the most shameful debaucheries; which afterwards again served to countenance their own passions by the example of their gods. They were not content with imagining them either in heaven or upon earth; they must see them and touch

them; for which reason they honoured idols as much as the gods themselves, conceiving that they were united and incorporated with them: and they honoured these statues so much the more for their beauty, or antiquity, or any other singularity they had to recommend them.[b]

Their worship was of a piece with their belief.[c] It was wholly founded upon two passions, the love of pleasure, and the fear of coming to any outward harm. Their sacrifices were always accompanied with feasts, and music, and dancing. Comedy and tragedy had their rise from their merry-makings after vintage in honour of Bacchus.[d] The Olympic games, and other trials of skill, so much celebrated in history, were instituted in honour of their gods. In short all the Grecian shews were acts of religion; and it was a piece of devotion, in their way, to assist at the most scandalous of Aristophanes's comedies. Thus, their chief business in time of peace was taking care of the *sacred combats* and theatrical shews; and often, in time of war, they were more attentive to these things, and at greater expence about them, than in the war itself.[e]

Their religion then was not a doctrine of morality, like the true religion:[f] they reckoned him a saint that was neither murderer, traitor, nor guilty of perjury; who avoided the company of those that committed such crimes; who kept up the rights of hospitality, and places of refuge; who faithfully

[b] Wisdom xiii. 10. [c] Ibid. xiv. 27—29.
[d] Tertull. de Spect. August. 2. De Civ. Dei.
[e] Demosth. Philipp. 5. [f] August. *de verâ Relig. in init.*

performed his vows, and gave liberally towards sacrifices and public shews. Religion was looked upon as a kind of trade;[g] they made offerings to the gods, that they might obtain what they desired in their prayers. As to any thing else, debauchery did not offend it at all. Apuleius, after all the villainous actions with which he fills his metamorphosis, concludes with a description of his devotions,[h] that is, how officious he was to get himself initiated into all sorts of mysteries, and how exact in observing all the ceremonies of them. Debauchery was so far from being condemned by religion, that it was sometimes enjoined: there was no celebrating the Bacchanal feasts in a proper manner without getting drunk,[i] and there were women that prostituted themselves in honour of Venus, particularly at Corinth. It is well known what the god of gardens, and the mysteries of Ceres and Cybele, were.

Thus they honoured the gods whom they thought kind and beneficent. But for the infernal deities, Hecate, the Eumenides or Furies, the Parcæ or Destinies, and others, with the stories of whom they were terrified, they were to be appeased with nocturnal sacrifices, and frightful inhuman ceremonies. Some buried men alive, others sacrificed children, and sometimes their own:[k] as the worshippers of Moloch mentioned with so much detestation in Scripture, who still kept up this abominable custom in Africa in Tertullian's time.[l]

[g] Plato Euthyphron.
[h] Apul. lib. i.
[i] Clem. Alex. in protrept.
[k] Wisd. xii. 23.
[l] Tertull. Apol. c. 9.

To this fear and dread were owing all the rest of their cruel and troublesome superstitions; as letting themselves blood with lancets, or cutting themselves with knives, as the false prophets of Baal and the priests of Cybele did;[m] as their fasting and bathing in cold water,[n] and other such things. They thought thereby to avert particular evils or public calamities, with which they were threatened in dreams and prodigies, according to the interpretation of their soothsayers. These were the remedies by which they imagined they could prevent sickness, plagues, hail, and famine. For upon such occasions mankind is apt rather to do things that are of no use at all, than to omit any thing that may be thought serviceable. All their lustrations or expiations for crimes were troublesome superstitions of this sort: they consisted in purifying the body by water or fire, and performing certain srcrifices; but there was no mention of either repentance or conversion.

It will seem strange perhaps that people so wise as the Grecians should be led away by such gross superstition, and so easily suffer themselves to be imposed upon by astrologers, diviners, soothsayers, and many other sorts of conjurors. But it

[m] 1 Kings xviii. 28.

[n] *Jupiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores,*
Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit; illo
Manè die, quo tu indicis jejunia, nudus
In Tiberi stabit.—HOR. lib. ii. *Sat.* iii. 288—292.

"O Jupiter, thou who inflictest and removest great calamities,
If this shivering ague shall leave my son,
He shall stand naked in the Tiber on the morning of thy fast day."
This seems the readiest way he could take to get his ague repeated

must be considered that till Alexander's time, and the reign of the Macedonians, they had made no great progress in such learning as might cure them of superstition. They excelled in arts, their laws were wise: in a word, they had brought every thing to perfection that makes life easy and agreeable; but they took little pains in the speculative sciences, geometry, astronomy, and physics. The anatomy of plants and animals, the knowledge of minerals and meteors, the form of the earth, the course of the planets, and the whole system of the world, were still mysteries to them. The Chaldeans and Egyptians, who already knew something of them, kept it a great secret; and never spake of them but in riddles, with which they mixed an infinite number of superstitions and fables.

As these sciences depend chiefly upon experience, a succession of ages always improves them, and they are at present in the greatest perfection they ever were. They are taught openly to any one that will apply himself to them; and they agree perfectly with our holy religion, which condemns all superstition, divination, and magic. However, we find but too many that give ear to astrologers, and such impostors, not only peasants and ignorant people of the lowest sort, but ladies that value themselves upon their wit, politeness, and knowledge;*

* Many ladies of quality in France had professed astrologers and necromancers in their household. It is well known that Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis I. was the grand patroness of Cornelius Agrippa. Queen Elizabeth also held the

and men that, notwithstanding they have had a good education, set up for free-thinkers, and cannot possibly submit to the dictates of true religion.

What then must be the case when all this nonsense made a part of religion; when conjurors were taken for men really inspired; when astrology, pyromancy, necromancy, and such knaveries, were esteemed divine knowledge? How was it possible to resist the authority of the priests, who gravely recounted an infinite series of proofs in confirmation of their doctrine, and were implicitly obeyed by whole nations? They could not help believing them, when they did not know how to account for these things in a philosophical manner; and if they had known, they must have been very bold to have contradicted them.[p]

A proneness to idolatry was not therefore peculiar to the Israelites. It was a general evil; and

science of Dr. Dee, the conjuror, in high repute; and is reported to have held frequent conferences with him on the subject at his poor house in Mortlake.

[p] The intelligent Abbé had no doubt the case of Galileo in view when he wrote the above. This great philosopher, for asserting the *true* system of the world, was twice imprisoned by the *holy infallible inquisition*, in 1612 and 1632; obliged to renounce his *heretical* opinions, and not to defend them by word or writing; was condemned to imprisonment during pleasure, and to repeat the seven penitential psalms once a week; and his books being condemned also, were publicly burnt at Rome! The doctrine for which he was persecuted is now believed by the Pope and all his conclave! Thank God, the infernal inquisition is now no more! In *Spain* it had its last refuge, and there it is now suppressed. (1820.)

the hardness of heart, with which the Scripture so often reproaches them, is not for their being more attached to earthly things than other people, but for being so much as they were, after having received such particular favours from the hand of GOD, and seen the great wonders that He had wrought for them. It is true, much resolution was necessary to resist the influence of the bad example of all other nations. When an Israelite was out of his own country, and amongst infidels, they reproached him with having no religion at all, because they did not see him offer any sacrifice, or worship idols: and when he told them of his GOD, the Creator of heaven and earth, they laughed at him, and asked him where He was. These taunts were hard to bear: David himself says that, when he was an exile, *he fed himself day and night with his tears*, because they daily asked him *Where is thy GOD?*[q] Weak minds were staggered with these attacks, and often gave way to them.

The propensity that all mankind has to pleasure heightened the temptation: as the heathen feasts were very frequent and magnificent, curiosity easily prevailed upon young people, especially women, to go and see the pomp of their processions, the manner of dressing out the victims, the dancing, the choirs of music, and ornaments of their temples. Some officious body engaged them to take a place at the feast, and eat the meat that was offered to idols, or come and lodge at his house. They made

[q] Psalm xliii. 3.

acquaintance and carried on love intrigues, which generally ended either in downright debauchery, or marrying contrary to the law. Thus did idolatry insinuate itself by the most common allurements of women and good cheer. In the time of Moses the Israelites were engaged in the infamous mysteries of Baal-Peor by the Midianitish women,[r] who were the *strange women* that perverted Solomon.

Besides, the law of God might appear too severe to them. They were not allowed to sacrifice in any place but one; by the hands too of such priests only as were descended from Aaron, and according to some very strict rules. They had but three great feasts in the whole year, the Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles: a very few for people that lived in plenty, and in a climate that inclined them to pleasure. As they lived in the country, employed in husbandry, they could not conveniently meet together but at feasts, and for that reason were obliged to borrow some of strangers, and invent others. Do not we ourselves, who think we are so spiritual, and no doubt ought to be so, if we were true Christians, often prefer the possession of temporal things to the hope of spiritual? And do we not endeavour to reconcile many diversions with the Gospel which all antiquity has judged to be inconsistent with it, and against which our instructors are daily exclaiming? It is true, we hold idolatry in detestation; but it is now no longer a familiar sight, and has been quite out of fashion

[r] Numb. xxv. 1—3.

above a thousand years. We are not then to imagine that the Israelites were more stupid than other people, because the particular favours they had received from GOD could not reclaim them from idolatry. But it must be owned that the wound of original sin was very deep, when such holy instructions and repeated miracles were found insufficient to raise men above sensible things.* But, however impure the state of the Israelites may appear, we see a much greater degree of blindness and impurity in other nations, particularly among the Greeks and Egyptians, who were in other respects the most enlightened.

CHAP. XX.

Their political State, Liberty, and domestic Power.

AFTER religion, we must say something of the political state of the Israelites. They were perfectly free, especially before they had kings. They had neither homages, nor manors, nor prohibitions from hunting or fishing; nor any of those kinds

* And here we may see the absolute necessity of that Holy Spirit which the Gospel has promised to purify the heart from all its defilements, to bring life and immortality to light, and to give us correct notions of that infinitely pure and holy Being who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

of dependencies which are so common among us, that lords themselves are not exempt from them. For we see sovereign princes that are vassals; and even officers under other sovereigns, as in Germany and Italy.[a] They enjoyed therefore that liberty so highly valued by the Greeks and Romans; and it was their own fault that they did not enjoy it for ever: it was GOD's design they should, as appears from His reproof delivered to them by Samuel, when they asked for a king;[b] and Gideon seemed to be well apprised of it, since, when they offered to make him king, and secure the kingdom to his posterity, he answered generously, *I will not rule over you, neither shall my sons rule over you; the LORD shall rule over you.*[c]

Their government was therefore neither a monarchy, aristocracy, nor democracy, but a theocracy,[d] as Josephus calls it: that is, GOD Himself

[a] The state of things in these countries is strangely altered since the good Abbé wrote; and even since the preceding edition of this work was published, *viz.* in 1805. Some of the dependent German states have been exalted to regal authority, and the ecclesiastico-political government of Italy has been totally changed! (1809)

[b] 1 Sam. x. 18, &c. [c] Judg. viii. 23.

[d] Though they were guided by GOD's peculiar direction, yet the form of their government was at first aristocratical, which continued to be the basis of it ever after. It commenced from the death of Jacob, who divided them into twelve tribes, appointing his sons, with the two sons of Joseph, to be rulers or princes over them, Gen. xlix. See also Exod. vi. 4. Josh. xxii. 14. No one tribe had superiority over another; for it is said, Gen. xlix. 16. *Dan shall judge his people* in the same manner *as one of the tribes of Israel.* And hence it is that, upon the

governed them immediately by the law that He had given them. As long as they observed it faithfully, they lived in freedom and safety; as soon as they transgressed it, to follow their own imaginations, they fell into anarchy and confusion; which the Scripture shews, when, to account for the prodigious wickedness of the times, it says, *In those days there was no king in Israel, every one did what was right in his own eyes.*[e] This confusion divided and weakened them, and made them become a prey to their enemies; till, recollecting themselves, they turned to GOD, and He sent them some deliverer. Thus they lived under the Judges, relapsing time after time into idolatry and disobedience to the law of GOD,[f] and consequently into

death of Joshua, the people enquire of GOD, *who should go up for them against the Canaanites*, Judg. i. 1. From this view we see the meaning of that important prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10. *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come;* not a *sceptre*, as most interpreters understand it, to arise in Judah's family, some ages after the death of Jacob, which is against the propriety of all language; not a *dominion* to be exercised by Judah over all the other tribes, which it never obtained; but that the government now settled in each of the tribes, which would depart from the rest long before the coming of *Shiloh*, should remain with Judah till Shiloh came. Accordingly the Assyrian captivity was ruin to the ten tribes; but the Babylonish captivity was only a seventy years' transportation of Judah into a foreign country, where they continued under heads and rulers of their own; which privilege they enjoyed till after the death of CHRIST, and in some sort till the destruction of Jerusalem.—See this proved at large in the third incomparable Dissertation of the Bishop of London.—E. F.

[e] Judg. xxi. 25. [f] Judg. ii. 11, 22.

slavery and confusion, and as often repenting. At last they chose rather to have a master over them, than to continue in freedom by faithfully observing the law of GOD.

Their liberty, reduced to these just bounds, consisted in a power to do every thing that was not forbidden by the law, without obligation to do any more than it commanded; or being subject to the will of any particular man, but the fathers of families, who had great power over their servants and children at home. There were some Hebrews slaves to their brethren: and the law mentions two cases that reduced them to that condition; poverty, which obliged them to sell themselves;[g] and commission of theft, which they were not able to make amends for.[h] It appears that the second case comprehended debts likewise, by the example of the widow, whose oil Elisha multiplied, that she might have enough to pay her creditors, and save her children from slavery.[i] It is true, these Hebrew slaves might regain their freedom at the end of six years, that is, in the sabbatical year:[k] and if they were then not disposed to make use of this privilege, they might claim their liberty and that of their children in the jubilee or fiftieth year.[l] It was recommended to them to use their brethren mildly, and rather to make slaves of strangers. We see how submissive their slaves were to them by the words of the Psalmist, *As the eyes of servants*

[g] Lev. xxv. 39.
[h] Exod. xxii. 3.
[i] 2 Kings iv. 1.
[k] Exod. xxi. 2.
[l] Lev. xxv. 40.

look unto the hands of their masters, even so our eyes wait upon the LORD *our* GOD.[m] From which we may collect that they often gave orders by signs; and that servants were to watch their least motions.

The Israelites had a power of life and death over their slaves, and this was then common to them with all nations. For slavery proceeded from the right they acquired by conquest in war;[n] when, instead of killing their enemies, they chose rather to give them their lives, that they might have the use of them. So it was supposed the conqueror always reserved the power of taking away their lives, if they committed any thing that deserved it; that he acquired the same power over their children, because they had never been born, if he had not spared the father; and that he transmitted this power when he alienated his slave. This is the foundation of the absolute power of masters; and they seldom abused it, for their interest obliged them to preserve their slaves, who made part of their riches: which is the reason of the law, that he should not be punished who had smote a servant, *if he continued alive a day or two after. He is his money,*[o] says the law, to shew that this loss was a sufficient punishment: and one may presume in this case that the master only intended his correction. But if the slave died under the strokes, it was to be supposed the master had a real design to kill him, for which the law declares him punishable;

[m] Psalm cxxiii. 2.
[n] Just. de Jure Pers. sect. 3.
[o] Exod. xxi. 20, 21.

in which it was more merciful than the laws of other people, who did not make that distinction. The Romans, for more than five hundred years, had a power to put their slaves to death, to imprison their debtors upon default of payment, and to sell their own children three times over before they were out of their power;[p] and all by virtue of those wise laws of the twelve tables which they brought from Greece, at the time when the Jews were restored, after they returned from captivity, that is, about a thousand years after Moses.

As to the paternal power of the Hebrews, the law gave them leave to sell their daughters;[q] but the sale was a sort of marriage, as it was with the Romans.[r] We see however, by a passage in Isaiah, that fathers sold their children to their creditors:[s] and in the time of Nehemiah the poor proposed to sell their children for something to live upon, and others bewailed themselves that they had not wherewith to redeem their children that were already in slavery.[t] They had the power of life and death over their children, since the Wise Man says, *Chasten thy son whilst there is hope; but persist not in it to cause him to die.*[u] Indeed they had not so much liberty as the Romans to make use of this severe privilege without the magistrate's knowledge.[x]

[p] Instit. de his qui sui vel al. sect. 2. Inst. quib. mod. jud. Part. sect. 6.

[q] Exod. xxi. 7.

[r] *Per Coemptionem.*

[s] Isaiah l. 1.

[t] Nehem. v. 2, 5.

[u] Prov. xix. 18. See the Hebrew, and the margin of our Bibles.

[x] Liv. lib. ii.

The law of GOD only permitted the father and mother, after they had tried all sorts of correction at home, to declare to the elders of the city that their son was stubborn and rebellious; and, upon their complaint, he was condemned to death and stoned.[y] The same law was practised at Athens,[z] and founded upon children's lives being derived from their parents, and upon a supposition that none could be so unnatural as to put their children to death, unless they had committed some horrible crimes. Now the dread of this power was of great use in keeping children in perfect subjection.

We see but too many evils proceed from relaxing or rather taking away this paternal authority. Let a son be never so young, as soon as he is married, or knows how to live without his father's assistance, he thinks he owes him no longer any thing but a little respect. Thence comes the infinite number of small families and people that live alone, or in boarding-houses, where all are equally masters. Such young independent people, if they are rich, run into debauchery and ruin themselves. If they are poor, they turn vagabonds whom nobody cares to own, and are capable of all sorts of villany. Besides the corruption of manners, this independency may also occasion great disorders in the state: for it is much more difficult to rule a multitude of single untractable men than a few heads of families, each of whom was responsible for a great number of persons, and was commonly an old man that understood the laws.

[y] Deut. xxi. 19. [z] Heliod. i.

CHAP. XXI.

The Authority of Old Men.

NOT only fathers, but all old men, had great authority among the Israelites, and all the people of antiquity. They, every where, in the beginning, chose judges for private affairs, and counsellors for the public, out of the oldest men.[a] Thence came the name of *Senate* and *Fathers* at Rome, and that great respect for old age which they borrowed from the Lacedemonians. Nothing is more conformable to nature. Youth is only fit for motion and action. Old age is qualified to instruct, advise, and command. *The glory of young men is their strength,* says Solomon, *and the beauty of old men is their grey head.*[b] It is not likely that either study or good parts should make up for want of experience in a young man: but an old man, provided he have good natural senses, is wise by experience alone. All history proves that the best governed states were those where old men were in

[a] Though this perhaps may be true of the original institution of the Jewish sanhedrim and Roman senate; yet it is certain, in process of time, neither assembly consisted of the *oldest*. *Patres* and *Seniores*, as with us *aldermen*, came to denote rank of dignity, not of age; as Selden observes, de Synedriis, lib. 1. c. 14. p. 1092, and lib. ii. c. 9. § 4. p. 1423. ed. fol.—E. F.

[b] Prov. xx. 29.

authority, and that the reigns of princes that were too young have been most unfortunate: which explains what the Wise Man says, *Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.*[c] And it is this woe that GOD threatens the Jews with, when He tells them by Isaiah, that *He will give them children for princes.*[d] In reality youth has neither patience nor foresight, is an enemy to all rule, and seeks nothing but pleasure and variety.

As soon as the Hebrews began to be formed into a people, they were governed by old men: when Moses returned into Egypt to promise them that GOD would set them at liberty, he assembled the elders together,[e] and performed the miracles which were the proof of his mission before them. All the elders of Israel came to the feast that he made for Jethro his father-in-law.[f] When GOD thought fit to give counsel to relieve him in governing that great people, *Gather unto me,* said he, *seventy men of the elders of Israel whom thou knowest, to be the elders of the people, and officers over them.* So that they had already authority, before the law was given, and the state had taken its form.[g] In

[c] Eccles. x. 16.

[d] Isaiah iii. 4. Europe wells knows how miserably the affairs of a nation are conducted, where the helm of the state is confided to the hands of a *rash young man.*

[e] Exod. iv. 29. [f] Exod. xviii. 12.

[g] This is a proof that the power, which we before mentioned to be given by Jacob to the heads of tribes, took place immediately upon his death. From that time all applications and messages are not to the people, but to the elders of Israel; Exod. iii. 16. xii. 21. The command of GOD, sent to the *house*

the whole Scripture afterwards, as often as mention is made of assemblies and public affairs, the elders are put in the first place, and sometimes named alone.

Thence comes the expression in the Psalms, exhorting to praise GOD in *the congregation of the people,* and in *the seat of the* elders, that is, the public council. These are the two parts that composed all the antient commonwealths; *the assembly* (which the Greeks call *Ecclesia,* εκκλησια, and the Latins *Concio*) and *the senate.* The name of *elder,* πρεσβυτερος, became afterwards a title of dignity; and from this Greek word is derived the Latin name *presbyter;* and from the Latin word *senior,* elder, comes the name of *seigneur,* or lord.[h] We may judge of the age required by the Hebrews before a man was reckoned an elder by those being called *young men* whose advice Rehoboam followed;[i] for it is said, they had been educated with him; from which it may be concluded, they were about his age, who was then *forty-one.*[k]

of Jacob, and the *children of Israel* in Egypt, was delivered by Moses to the *elders of the people,* Exod. xix. 3, 7. Bishop Sherlock's third dissertation, p. 304, 305. Whether the number of these *elders,* who made up the *Sanhedrim,* was just seventy, or seventy-two, it is allowed it was first formed out of Jacob's children, who went into Egypt; and that it always represented the twelve tribes. See Mald. on Luc. xii. 1. Grot. in loc. and on Numb. xij. 1. and Selden, de Syned. lib. 11. c. iv. 8.—E. F.

[h] It is sometimes curious to remark the progress of corruption in a word, πρεσβυτερος, *presbyter,* antient French *prestre,* modern French *pretre,* and English *priest.* So Κυριε οικος, Kurion oikos, *the house of the* LORD, contracted into Κυριοικ, Kurioik, Scottish *kirk,* and English *church.*

[i] 1 Kings xii. 8. [k] 2 Chron. xii. 13.

CHAP. XXII.

Their Administration of Justice.

JUSTICE was administered by two sorts of officers, *Shophetim* and *Shoterim*, established in every city by the command which GOD gave by Moses.[a] It is certain the word *shophetim* signifies *judges*. As to *shoterim*, it is differently translated by the Vulgate:[b] but the Jewish tradition explains it of ministers of justice, as sheriffs, serjeants, or their guards, and other officers. These posts were given to the Levites, and there were six thousand of them in David's time.[c] Such were the judges that Jehoshaphat restored in each city, and to whom he gave such good instructions;[d] the Scripture adds, that he settled at Jerusalem a company of Levites,[e] priests, and heads of families, to be judges in great causes.[f] It was the council of seventy elders, erected in the time of Moses, over which the high-priest presided, and where all

[a] Deut. xvi. 18.

שפטים ושטרים תתן לך

Judges and officers shalt thou make unto thee.

See the note at the end of this chapter.

[b] *Magistri*, masters; *præfecti*, prefects; *duces*, leaders or captains; *præcones*, heralds. Josh. iii. 2.

[c] 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

[d] 2 Chron. xix. 5, 6, 7.

[e] Ibid. v. 8.

[f] Deut. xvii. 8.

questions were decided that were too hard to be determined by the judges of smaller cities. The tradition of the Jews is, that these judges of particular cities were twenty-three in number; that they were all to meet to judge in capital cases; and that *three* were sufficient for causes relating to pecuniary matters, and such as were of little consequence.[g] The chief judge was the king, according to the saying of the people to Samuel, *Give us a king to judge us.*[h]

The place where the judges kept their court was the *gate of the city;* for as all the Israelites were husbandmen, who went out in the morning to their work, and came not in again till night, the city-gate was the place where most people met. We must not wonder that they wrought in the fields, and abode in the cities. They were not such as the chief cities of our provinces, which can hardly be maintained by the produce of twenty or thirty leagues round them. They were only the habitations of as many labourers, as were necessary to cultivate the ground nearest hand. Whence it came, that the land being full of inhabitants, their cities were very numerous. The tribe of Judah only reckoned a hundred and fifteen to their share,[i] when they took possession of it, besides those that were built afterwards; and each city had villages dependent upon it.

They must certainly then be small, and very

[g] Sanhedr. c. i. s. 6, &c. [h] 1 Sam. viii. 5.
[i] Josh. xv. 21, &c.

near one another, like common towns, well built and walled in, having, in other respects, every thing that is to be found in the country.

The public place for doing business among the Greeks and Romans was the *market-place*, or exchange, for the same reason, because they were all merchants. In our ancestors' time the vassals of each lord met in the court of his castle, and thence comes the expression *the courts of princes*. As princes live more retired in the east, affairs are transacted at the gate of their seraglio; and this custom of *making one's court* at the palace gate has been practised ever since the times of the antient kings of Persia, as we see by several passages in the book of Esther.[k]

The gate of the city was the place for doing all public and private business ever since the times of the Patriarchs. Abraham purchased his burying place in the presence of all those that entered into the gate of the city of Hebron.[l] When Hamor and his son Sichem, who ran away with Dinah, purposed to make an alliance with the Israelites, it was at the city-gates that they spake of it to the people.[m] We see the manner of these public acts, with all the particulars, in the story of Ruth.[n] Boaz, designing to marry her, was to have another person's right in her, who was a nearer relation, given up to him. For this purpose, he sits at the gate of Bethlehem; and, seeing this kinsman pass by, he

[k] Esther ii. 19. iii. 2, 3.
[l] Gen. xxiii. 10, 18.
[m] Ibid. xxxiv. 20.
[n] Ruth iv.

stops him. Then he takes ten of the elders of the city; and, after they were all sat down, he explained his pretensions to them; and got the acknowledgment which he desired from his relation, with all the formality prescribed by the law; which was to pull off his shoe. He took not only the elders, but all the people, for witnesses, which shews a great number of spectators had got together: nor is it unlikely, that curiosity made the people stop as they passed by. Their business was seldom in great haste; they were all acquainted, and all related: so it was natural for them to be concerned about each others affairs.

Perhaps they took these acts down in writing: but the Scripture does not take notice of any, except in Tobit and Jeremiah, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem. In Tobit there is mention made of a bond for money lent, of a marriage contract, and an instrument of covenants made upon that account.[o] In Jeremiah, there is a contract upon a purchase.[p] The law of Moses prescribes no writing, except in case of divorce.[q] But if they had not made use of any writings in those early times, their contracts would have been very safe, since they were made in so public a manner. If the kinsman of Boaz should have denied that he

[o] Tobit vii. 14. Some readers will think it strange that Tobit and other Apocryphal books are reckoned as *Scripture*: but they must recollect that the Abbé was a Catholic, and that the whole of the Apocrypha is considered as canonical by the Romish church.

[p] Jer. xxxii. 6—25. [q] Deut. xxiv. 1.

had given up his right, all the inhabitants of Bethlehem could have convicted him of a falsehood. Some of them were present at it, and others must have heard of it immediately after.

It was a long time before the custom of putting private contracts into writing was introduced among the Romans, as appears by the verbal obligation which they called *stipulation*. They were not afraid of an action wanting proof, when they had pronounced a certain solemn form in the public market-place among all the people, and taken some particular citizens to witness it who were of reputable condition and unblemished character. These transactions were full as public as those among us, that are done in private houses before a public notary, who often knows neither party, or before the town-clerk and two hack witnesses.

We may suppose the *gate*, with the Hebrews, was the same thing as the *square*, or *market-place*, with the Romans. The market for provisions was held at the city-gate. Elisha foretold that victuals should be sold cheap the day after, in the *gate* of Samaria.[r] This gate had a square, which must have been a large one, because king Ahab assembled four hundred false prophets there. I suppose it was the same in other cities, and that these gates had some building with seats for the judges and elders; for it is said that Boaz went up to the gate, and sat down there: and when David heard that Absalom was dead, he went up to the chamber

[r] 2 Kings vii. 1.

over the gate, to weep there.[s] This chamber might be the place for private deliberations. Even in the temple of Jerusalem causes were tried at one of the gates, and the judges held their assizes there.[t] After all these examples, it is not to be wondered that the Scripture uses the word *gate* so often to signify judgment, or the public council of each city, or the city itself, or the state; and that, in the Gospel, *the gates of hell* signify the kingdom or power of the devil.

But, as open and fairly as we may think the Israelites transacted their affairs, it must not be imagined that they had no frauds and rogueries, unjust prosecutions, or false accusations. These are evils inseparable from the corruptions of human nature; and the more spirit and vivacity men naturally have, the more are they subject to them: but these evils are more peculiarly the growth of great cities. When David fled from Jerusalem upon Absalom's rebellion, he represents *fury and discord going about day and night within the walls thereof, mischief and sorrow in the midst of it, and deceit and guile in her streets.*[u] The prophets are full of such reproaches: only one may imagine these evils were less common than they are now, because there were fewer *lawyers* among them.

As temporal affairs as well as spiritual were governed by the law of God, there was no distinction of tribunals: the same judge decided cases of conscience, and determined civil and criminal

[s] 2 Sam. xviii. 33. [t] Jer. xxvi. 10. [u] Psalm lv. 10, &c.

causes. Thus they had occasion for but few different officers, in comparison of what we see in the present day. For we account it an uncommon thing to be only a private man, and to have no other employment than improving our estate, and governing our family. Every body is desirous of some public post, to enjoy honours, prerogatives, and privileges: and employments are considered as trades, which are a livelihood, or as titles of distinction. But if we were to examine what public offices only are really necessary, and the business done in them, we shall find that a very few persons would be sufficient to execute them, and have spare time enough besides for their private affairs.

This was the practice among all the people of antiquity, and especially the Hebrews. In Joshua's time we find but four sorts of public officers: *zikonim*,[v] senators or elders; *rashim*, chiefs; *shophetim*, judges; and *shoterim*, inferior officers. When the kingdom was more flourishing, in David's time, the following officers are mentioned: *six thousand Levites, officers and judges; heads of tribes;*

[v] ZIKONIM, from זקן zakan, *to grow old*, were the *elders* of the people, something like our *eldermen*, or *aldermen*.

RASHIM, from ראש rash, *to be head* or *chief*, probably military *chiefs*, or captains.

SHOPHETIM, from שפט shaphat, *to discern, judge, determine*, judges in civil matters: hence the Carthaginian *sufetes*.

SHOTERIM, from שטר shoter, *a side* or *part*, subordinate magistrates who appear to have been *deputies* of the *Shophetim*. See Josh. xxiv. 1.

heads of families,[w] which are rather names of quality than employment; *the heads of twelve corps,* of twenty-four thousand men each; *the heads of one thousand,* and of a hundred men; *the heads over those that tenanted the king's demesnes,* that is, his lands and cattle. I call those *heads* here, whom the Hebrew calls *sirim,* and the Latin *principes.*[x] But I must observe, once for all, that it is impossible to express the titles of offices and dignities in another language. Thus, neither the Greek nor Latin versions give us a just idea of the Chaldean employments, taken notice of in Daniel,[y] Ezekiel,[z] and others.

Besides, among David's officers they reckon his eunuchs, or domestic servants; for, throughout the Scripture, the word *eunuch* is often taken for what we call a *valet-de-chambre,* or footman; or, in general, for any servant employed about the king's person, without signifying any personal imperfection. *Captains over fifty men* are likewise mentioned in other places: but we find nothing of *captains over tens,* except in the law. Most of these posts are military; and the rest are but a trifle, if one considers the multitude of people, and the extent of David's kingdoms.

[w] 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

[x] SARIM, from שׂר sar, *to direct, rule,* and *regulate,* probably military officers over larger and smaller companies of men; captains over thousands, hundreds, &c. See 1 Chron. xxviii. 1.

[y] Dan. iii. 3. [z] Ezek. xxiii. 23.

CHAP. XXIII.

Their Wars.

AFTER the administration of justice, we must speak of war. There was not an Israelite that did not carry arms, the priests and Levites not excepted. Benaiah the priest, son of Jehoiada, was one of the most renowned for bravery in David's army,[a] and was general of Solomon's troops in the room of Joab. All were reckoned soldiers that were of age for service; and that was at twenty years old and upwards.[b] They were like the militia in some countries, always ready to assemble at the first notice. The difference is, that with *us* all ecclesiastics are forbidden the use of arms, and that we have moreover an infinite number of people unfit for war; lawyers, receivers of the king's revenues, citizens, merchants, and tradesmen: whereas *they* were all husbandmen and shepherds inured from their childhood to labour and fatigue.[c] Nor is it improbable that they used them to handle arms, at least from the time of David and Solomon. Thus, at Rome, all the citizens of such an age were obliged to serve a certain number of campaigns, when their services were required: from

[a] 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. 1 Kings ii. 35.
[b] Numb. i. 3, 22. [c] 2 Chron. viii. 9.

whence it comes that they did not use the expression of *levying* troops, but called it *choosing* them,[d] because they had always a great many more than they wanted.[e] It was no very difficult thing for the Israelites to support their armies; the country was so small, and the enemy so near, that they often came back to lodge at home, or had but one or two days' march.

Their arms were nearly the same with those of the Greeks and Romans; swords, bows and arrows, javelins and spears, that is to say, half pikes; for we must not imagine the antients had hand-spears, such as our antient cavalry used. Their swords were broad, and hung upon their thigh.[f] They made use of slings, as we may see in the men of Gibeah in Benjamin, who could have slung to a hair's breadth; and the same Gibeonites fought alike with both hands.[g] Saul commonly held a javelin in his hand.[h] Homer represents his heroes, and the Romans Quirinus, and their other gods, in the same manner. But they did not wear any arms, except upon duty; not so much as a sword. When David ordered his men to march against

[d] *Habere delectum civis et Peregrini.* CIC.

[e] And this is what our LORD refers to in the Gospel, when he so often says, *Many are called, but few chosen.* The great mass of the people was *called together*, and a *choice* was made of these who were most fit for service. The rest returned to their respective occupations, and those on whom the choice fell were employed in military duty. But both parties were equally valuable, and necessary to the safety and welfare of the state.

[f] Psalm xiv. 3. Cant. iii. 8.

[g] Judg. xx. 16.

[h] 1 Sam. xviii. 10. and xix. 9.

Nabal, he first bids them *gird on their swords,*[i] though they lived in a state of continual alarm. The custom of always wearing a sword by the side was peculiar to the Gauls and Germans.

For defensive arms, they carried shields, bucklers, helmets, armour for the back and breast, and sometimes greaves to cover the legs. We see an instance of a complete suit of armour in that of Goliah, which was all brass,[k] like that of the Greeks in Homer. But it looks as if these arms were scarce among the Israelites at that time, since king Saul offered to lend David his. They became common afterwards; and Uzziah had sufficient to furnish all his troops, which were more than three hundred thousand men.[l] The same king erected machines upon towers on the walls of Jerusalem to throw great stones and arrows, and fortified several cities as most other kings did. Thus war was carried on so early, almost in the same manner as it was in later times, before the invention of fire arms.

The Israelites had only infantry at first; and this was also the chief strength of the Greeks and Romans. Cavalry is not so necessary[m] in hot

[i] 1 Sam. xxv. 13. [k] 1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6, 38.

[l] 2 Chron. xxvi. 13—15.

[m] The neglect of cavalry among the Israelites has afforded to an excellent writer a strong internal proof of that people's being under the immediate guidance of a supernatural power. The prohibition is express, Deut. xvii. *He* (that is, whoever shall be king of Israel,) *shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt.* Accordingly they pros-

countries, where they can always travel dry-shod: neither can it be of much use in mountains; but it is of great advantage in cold climates where the roads are dirty, and to make long marches over plains that are either barren or thinly inhabited, as in Poland and Tartary.

But they had cavalry under their kings; and the first sign of Absalom's revolt was raising horses and chariots; and yet, when he had lost the battle, he got upon a mule to make his escape.[n] Solomon, who could bear any expense, sent for a vast number of horses out of Egypt; and kept forty thousand of them, with twelve thousand chariots.[o] Their chariots of war were probably, like those of the Greeks, small, with two wheels, that would carry one or two men standing upright or leaning upon the fore part. The succeeding kings, who could not support the great expense that Solomon did, sent from time to time for succours to Egypt; and upon these occasions there is always mention made of horses. The Jews must have had no cavalry in Hezekiah's time, by Rabshakeh's insolence

pered or were defeated, as they obeyed or transgressed this Divine command; which, as he observes, it is *impossible to justify by the measures of human prudence.* See Bishop Sherlock's Fourth Dissertation. Dr. Warburton, pursuing the same argument, observes, with our author, that even upon *political reasons* the Jews might be justified in the disuse of cavalry in *defence* of their country, but not in *conquering* it from a warlike people who abounded in horses. Here at least the exertion of an extraordinary Providence was wonderfully conspicuous. See Div. Leg. Vol. II. Book IV. sect. 5.—E. F.

[n] 2 Sam. xviii. 9. [o] 1 Kings iv. 26. 2 Chron. iv. 25.

in saying to them, *Come into my master's service, the king of Assyria; and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them.*[p]

The Scripture informs us of no particulars relating to their military evolutions, the form of their battalions, or general order of battle, though it often speaks of troops in battle array; but, for the art of encamping and marching in good order, the journey through the wilderness is a noble example of it. The number of this prodigious army was known by exact lists: each man was set down in his tribe; each tribe in its quarter under one of the four heads, according to the order of birthright among the patriarchs, and quality of their mothers.[q] They marched, by sound of trumpet, always in the same order; and always quartered in the same situation about the tabernacle of the covenant, which was the centre of the camp. They took all proper care for keeping their quarters clean,[r] which was so necessary in so warm a country, and hard to be done in so vast a multitude.

[p] 2 Kings xviii. 23. The above is a literal translation from the Vulgate, and differs considerably in the first clause from that in the English version. The word התערב which we translate *give pledges*, and the Vulgate *transite*, pass over, will have this latter meaning by the simple transposition of the two last letters ב and ר thus: התעבר: and so St. Jerom must have read it in his Hebrew copy. As, thus understood, the words of Rabshakeh, convey a strong solicitation to mutiny and defection, it is most likely that this is the true original reading.

[q] Numb. i. 2, &c.

[r] Numb. v. 2, &c. Deut. xxiii. 10, 11, &c.

In short, we say that the way of encamping, and every thing else that we admire with so much reason in the Greeks and Romans, was taken from the antient models of the eastern people. The Hebrews set a high value upon their booty and spoils, as all the nations of antiquity did: they were marks of honour.

From Joshua's time to the kings the command of armies belonged to those whom the people chose, or God raised up in an extraordinary manner, as Othniel, Barak, and Gideon: but none were subject to them but the country or the people that chose them, or to whom God gave them for deliverers. The rest of the people, abusing their liberty, often exposed themselves to the insults of their enemies: which made them ask for a king, not only to do them justice, but to conduct their armies, and make war for them.[s] From that time too they were in much more safety. The king called the people together when he judged it convenient, and always kept up a great number of forces. It is observed in the beginning of Saul's reign that he maintained three thousand men:[t] David had twelve bodies of four and twenty thousand each, who served monthly by turns. Jehoshaphat had not a third part of David's kingdom; and yet he had eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men in his service, without reckoning garrisons.[u]

[s] 1 Sam. viii. 20.
[t] 1 Sam. xiii. 2.
[u] 1 Chron. xxvii. 1, &c.

CHAP. XXIV.

Their Kings.

THE king had power of life and death, and could put criminals to death without the formality of justice. David made use of this prerogative in the case of him who boasted that he had killed Saul, and of those that murdered Ishbosheth.[a] The Roman emperors possessed a similar power. The kings of Israel levied tribute upon the Israelites themselves; for Saul promises that all the family of the man that would fight Goliah should be exempted from it:[b] and it appears that Solomon had laid excessive taxes upon them by the complaints made to Rehoboam.[c] The power of kings was in other respects very much limited: they were obliged to keep the law as well as private men; they could neither add to nor diminish it; and there is no instance of any of them making so much as one new law. Their way of living at home was very plain, as we may see by the description that Samuel gave of their manners to put the people out of conceit with them;[d] he allows them only women for household affairs. Yet they had a great attendance when they appeared in public. Among the

[a] 2 Sam. i. 15. iv. 12.
[b] 1 Sam. xvii. 25.
[c] 1 Kings xii. 14.
[d] 1 Sam. viii. 10—18.

signs of Absalom's rebellion, the Scripture reckons fifty men that ran before him;[e] and the same is said of his brother Adonijah.[f]

The kings lived sparingly as well as private people; the difference was, they had more land and herds. When indeed David's riches are reckoned up, his treasures of gold and silver are put into the account; but so are his tillage and vineyards, his stores of wine and oil, his plantations of olive and fig-trees, his herds and kine, camels, asses, and sheep.[g] Thus Homer describes the riches of Ulysses: he says he had twelve great herds of each sort of cattle upon the continent, besides what he had in his island.[h] They took out of this great stock what was necessary to maintain their household. There were, in Solomon's time, twelve overseers distributed through the land of Israel, who, each in his turn, set monthly provisions for the table,[i] which for one day were *thirty measures of fine flour, and threescore measures of meal, ten fat oxen, and twenty out of the pastures, and a hundred sheep, besides harts, and roebucks, and fallow deer, and fatted fowl,*[k] enough to feed at

[e] 2 Sam. xv. 1. [f] 1 Kings i. 5.

[g] 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, &c.

[h] "——————— Twelve herds of his
The main land graze; as many flocks of sheep;
Droves of fat swine as numerous—
As many flocks of goats: nor these are all,
But other goats beside, eleven flocks,
Browze on the margin of the field at home.
Odyss. xiv. ver. 110. COWPER.

[i] 1 Kings iv. 7. [k] 1 Kings iv. 22, &c.

least five thousand people. As this provision was the product of the country itself, there was no need to buy any thing; nor any want of purveyors, treasurers, or comptrollers; nor of that vast number of officers which eat up great lords; so that gold and silver continued laid up, or served for its most natural use, to be manufactured into plate and household ornaments.

Hence came the vast riches of David and Solomon.[l] David prepared all that was necessary for building the temple, the value of which came to a *hundred thousand* talents of gold, and a *thousand thousand,* i. e. a *million* talents of silver. 1 Chron. xxii. 14. that is, *one thousand two hundred and twenty-three millions, six hundred and twenty-nine thousand, three hundred and forty-four pounds, nine shillings and eight-pence three farthings.*[m] Besides, he caused great treasures to be laid up in his sepulchre. Solomon built a great number of palaces, fortified several cities, and finished several public works. All the plate and furniture of his house at Mount Libanus was of pure gold; besides two hundred golden targets, each of which was worth about *one thousand four hundred and seventy-four pounds, five shillings and eightpence halfpenny,* or *two hundred and ninety-four thou-*

[l] 1 Chron. xxix.

[m] 1 Chron. xxii. 14. In the original, only 100,000 talents of gold:

For 100,000 talents of gold come to	£737,142,858
And 1,000,000 talents of silver come to	486,486,486 9 8¼
Which, together, make in standard,	£1,223,629,344 9 8¼

sand, eight hundred and fifty-seven pounds, two shillings and tenpence farthing sterling in all; and three hundred bucklers, worth *seven hundred and thirty seven pounds, two shillings and tenpence farthing* a-piece, which amounts to about *two hundred and twenty-one thousand, one hundred and forty-two pounds, seventeen shillings and one penny three farthings* sterling. [n]

His revenues too were great. Commerce alone brought him in every year *six hundred and sixty-six* talents of gold; which make *four millions nine hundred and nine thousand, three hundred and seventy-one pounds, eight shillings and eightpence* sterling. He made the Israelites pay tribute, and all foreigners that were under his dominion, the Hivites, the Amorites, and all the other antient inhabitants of the land of Israel, the Idumeans, great part of Arabia, and all Syria: for his empire extended from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates; and all the countries that were so rich, sent him every year vessels of gold and silver, cloth, arms, perfumes, horses, and mules. These reflections may serve to make one understand how Crœsus came by his riches in a kingdom about the same size as that of Solomon. Silver and gold were not yet dispersed through the world. There was but little in Greece; none in Italy and the rest of Europe, except Spain, where they had some mines.

[n] See the proper method of calculating the Hebrew *talent*, and value of the *shield*, so as to bring them into English money, Appendix, No. V.

Let us stand still a little to consider the prosperity of Solomon, for it is an agreeable contemplation. If we were to read all history through, we should not find one example of such a perfect conjunction of all the good things that are to be enjoyed in this world: a young prince in the flower of his age; of a handsome person; of great parts, learning, and accomplishments; in such reputation for wisdom that *all the earth sought to hear him*;[o] and a queen came in person from a great distance to converse with him.[p] He was master of a large kingdom, which was in a state of profound peace; inhabited the finest country in the world; had the most magnificent palaces, and numerous attendance; was loaded with riches; swimming in pleasures; denying himself nothing, as he owns, and employing all his vast genius to satisfy his desires.[q] This we should call a happy man, according to our natural ideas. Yet it is certain he was not so, because he was not *contented.* He himself says, that he found pleasure and joy were only illusion, and that *all his labour was but vanity and vexation of spirit.*[r]

By this prosperity of Solomon and his people

[o] 1 Kings x. 24.

[p] 1 Kings x. 1. The Abyssinians call this queen Makkedah: they say she had a child by Solomon, who came to the throne of Abyssinia after his mother's death; and that she brought a copy of Moses's law with her, which all her subjects received as a Divine revelation; and which the Abyssinians continue to reverence to the present day.

[q] Eccles. ii. 10.

[r] Eccles. v. 11.

GOD gave two important lessons to mankind at the same time. First, He shews His faithfulness in accomplishing His promises by giving the Israelites so plentifully of all the good things which He had promised their fathers in the possession of this land; that no one hereafter might doubt of His power to reward those who adhere to Him and keep His commandments. Men, who applied themselves so entirely to earthly things, stood in need of such an earnest, to make them believe they should hereafter enjoy an invisible happiness, and the recompence of another life. But besides, by granting the Israelites the possession of these earthly goods, and profusely heaping on them whatever might contribute to the happiness of this life, GOD has given all men an opportunity of seeing them in a true light, and conceiving higher hopes. For who under the sun can pretend to be happy, if Solomon was not? Who can doubt that whatever happens in this world is vanity, after *he* has confessed it? Does not this example shew us plainly that worldly goods are not only vain, but dangerous? not only incapable of satisfying the heart of man, but likely to corrupt it? What reason have *we* to flatter ourselves that we shall make a better use of them than a people so dear to GOD, and so well instructed in their duty? and who seem to have had a better right to this sort of happiness, since it was proposed to them as a reward. What presumption would it be to think ourselves more capable of resisting pleasures than the wise Solomon? He gave himself up so much to the love of women, that he had a thou-

sand of them, though a multiplicity was absolutely forbidden by the law of GOD.[s] And his complaisance to them carried him even to idolatry: his subjects followed his bad example; and after his reign the manners of the Israelites grew worse and worse. They had attained their highest pitch of earthly felicity, and now began to decline.

The division of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah still augmented the evil. The corruption was much the greatest in Israel, where idolatry always prevailed, which is the fountain of all sorts of wickedness: rebellion and treason were common there.[t] In Judah the crown never went out of the family of David: there were several pious kings in it. The priests and Levites, who retired thither, preserved the tradition of the true religion, and a more pure practice of the law.

In these latter times, the law being despised, they had frequent intercourse with strangers, chiefly to procure succours in war: and this is the reason of their being so frequently reproached by the prophets with their want of trust in GOD. The strangers, whose alliance they most courted, were the Assyrians and Egyptians, the two most powerful nations of those times. To please them, they imitated their customs and idolatry; and the ruin of the Israelites followed the fortune of these nations, when Egypt fell, and Assyria got the superiority.

[s] Deut. xvii. 17. [t] Wisd. xiv. 27.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

The Jews.—Their Captivity.

WHAT has already been noted appeared to me the most remarkable in the manners of the Israelites, whilst they lived at full liberty in their own country, without mixing with strangers, or being subject to infidels. Let us now take a view of their last state, from the Babylonish captivity to their entire dispersion. Though they were still the same people, and their manners the same in the main, there was however a great alteration in both.

First, they are called only *Jews* in these later times, because, in reality, there was no kingdom but that of Judah subsisting. Samaria had been destroyed; and Salmanasar had taken the ten tribes captive, which bore the name of *Israel* above a hundred years before the ruin of Jerusalem. And though the kingdom of Judah comprehended the two whole tribes of Benjamin and Levi, and many

particular persons of all the rest, whom a religious zeal had brought thither after Jeroboam's schism; all was confounded in the name of Judea and Jews, and so they were usually called before the captivity.[a]

As the kingdom manifestly tended to its ruin, after the death of Josiah, great numbers of Jews were dispersed on all sides, and retired to the Ammonites, Moabites, Idumeans, and other neighbouring people.[b] The Chaldeans carried away captive the most considerable of those who dwelt at Jerusalem, when it was taken, and left none but the poorer sort to till the ground: this remnant too went into Egypt a little while after.[c]

As to those that were carried to Babylon, they were servants to the king and his sons, as the Scripture tells us; for such was the law of war at that time.[d] All that were taken in arms, all the inhabitants of a town carried by storm, or surrendered at discretion, and of the adjacent country, which depended upon it, were slaves to the conquerors. They were either the property of the public, or that particular person that had taken them, according to the laws concerning the acquisition or division of spoil then subsisting in each country. Thus, at the taking of Troy, all that remained alive were made slaves, not excepting queen Hecuba, and the princesses her daughters.

The Greek and Roman histories are full of such

[a] 2 Kings xvi. 6.
[b] Jer. xli. 10.
[c] Jer. xliii. 1—7.
[d] 2 Chron. xxvi. 20.

examples: the Romans loaded those kings with chains that resisted obstinately; or put them to death, after they had made them appear at their triumph. They sold the common people by auction, and divided their lands among their own citizens, whom they sent to establish colonies there: which was the certain way to secure their conquests. Neither the Jews nor Israelites were so hardly used by the Assyrians. Some had great liberty allowed them, as Tobit by king Enemessar; and there were some rich among them, as Tobit himself, his kinsman Raguel, and his friend Gabael;[e] and at Babylon Joachim, Susanna's husband.[f] It appears likewise by the story of Susanna that the Jews, notwithstanding their captivity, had the exercise of their laws, and the power to appoint judges of life and death.[g]

However, it was impossible but this mingling with strangers should cause some change in their manners, since one of their chief maxims was to separate themselves from all other nations. Many were prevailed upon to worship idols, eat forbidden food, and marry wives from among strangers; and all conformed to their masters in things indifferent, one of which was their language. Thus, during the seventy years that the captivity lasted, they forgot the Hebrew tongue, and none but the

[e] Tob. i. 14. [f] Hist. of Susanna.

[g] The story of Susanna is probably a fable; it is certainly entitled to little credit: therefore, whatever it may say of the *state* of the Jews, if not supported by collateral evidence, is worthy of little regard.

learned understood it, as it is now with the Latin among us. Their vulgar tongue was the Syriac or Chaldee, such as that in which a large portion of Daniel and Ezra are written, and the *Targums*, or Paraphrases upon Scripture, that were composed afterwards that the people might understand it. They changed their letters too; and instead of the old ones, which the Samaritans have preserved, took the Chaldean, which we erroneously call the Hebrew.

CHAP. II.

The Return of the Jews, and their State under the Persians.

WHEN Cyrus gave them their liberty, with leave to go back into Judea and rebuild the temple, they did not *all* return, nor at *one time*. There was a great number that staid at Babylon, and in all places where they were settled: and they that came back were not all Jews; some few of the ten tribes joined themselves to them, and yet they made but a small number altogether. The first, that Zerubbabel conducted, did not amount to fifty thousand, with the servants that attended them: and one may see their poverty by the small number

of their servants and cattle.[a] What comparison is there betwixt fifty thousand souls, and what there must have been in the time of Jehoshaphat to make up twelve hundred thousand fighting men. There came besides with Ezra about fifteen hundred,[b] and we may suppose that there were several other companies.

They did what they could to discover their former inheritances, and preserve each family's share. Upon this account Ezra collected all the genealogies that are at the beginning of the Chronicles, where he chiefly enlarges upon the three tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin; and carefully sets down their habitations. To people Jerusalem, they received all that would come and settle there, which confounded, no doubt, the order of their shares.[c] Besides, it was just that such as were present should take possession of their lands, who had no mind to return, or perhaps were not in being. So, in the later times, Joseph dwelt at Nazareth in Galilee, though his family was originally of Bethlehem: and Anna the prophetess lived at Jerusalem. But still they knew what tribe they were of, and carefully preserved their genealogies, as we see by Joseph's, who was only a poor artificer. They likewise carefully distinguished the true Israelites from strangers, that had

[a] The whole number was as follows: The people, 42360. Male and female servants, 7337. Male and female singers, 200. Horses, 736. Mules, 245. Camels, 435. Asses, 6720. Ezra ii. 64—67.

[b] Ezra viii. 1—14. [c] Nehem. xi. 3.

been admitted into their society,[d] whom they called *geiores* in their own tongue, and *proselytes* in Greek.[e]

Thus one of their first concerns, after their restoration, was to separate themselves from strangers, and to cause the prohibitions of the law, relating to marriages with infidels, to be observed:[f] which they extended to nations not specified in the law; namely, to the people of Azotus, who were part of the Philistines; to the Egyptians, Ammonites, and Moabites. The evils that the Jews were sensible they had received from these marriages, since the bad example of Solomon, inclined the wise men to interpret the law in this sense; and extend it rather beyond the import of the letter, that they might more effectually fulfil the intention of it. The priests were most strict in observing these prohibitions: they married none but women of their own tribe, and Josephus has informed us[g]

[d] Two sorts of men joined themselves to the Israelites, when they went out of Egypt: one sort were native Egyptians, called by the Septuagint *αυτοχθονες*, *those born in the land;* the others were a mixed multitude, who are termed by the Septuagint *γειωραις*, Exod. xii. 19. from גּוּר *gur*, a stranger. These were extraneous persons among the Egyptians, who took the land to till at a certain rent: such were the Jews before they went up out of Egypt. Both these sorts of men the Scripture comprehends under the denomination of a *mixed multitude*, Exod. xiii. 38. See Valesius's Notes on Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7. E. F. & A. C.

[e] African. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 7.

[f] Ezra ix. 1, &c.

[g] Cont. App. lib. i. c. 7. p. 978. Whiston's edition.

of the precautions used about it even in his time. In general, the Jews were never so faithful to GOD; and, after they returned from captivity, we never hear idolatry once mentioned among them: so much were they struck with that severe punishment, and the accomplishment of the prophecies that threatened them with it. Indeed, apostates were entirely at liberty to stay among the infidels: so that there appeared none but such as were really Jews.

Under the first kings of Persia, they were still very weak, envied by the strangers their neighbours, especially the Samaritans, exposed to their insults and calumnies, and in danger of having their throats cut upon the least signification of the king's pleasure; as we see by the cruel edict that Haman obtained against them, from the effects of which they were saved by queen Esther.[h] They could not finish the rebuilding of the temple, till twenty years after their first coming back, nor raise the walls of Jerusalem again, under sixty years more: so they were fourscore years in renewing the whole. The country must have been very poor, since Herodotus, who lived at that time, comprehends Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and the Isle of Cyprus, under one single government, that paid Darius but three hundred and fifty talents' tribute,[i] which was no more than was paid by one of the least provinces: whereas that of Babylon alone paid a thousand. This revenue was doubled

[h] Esther iii. iv. v.

[i] Herod. lib. iii. p. 226.

in the time of the Romans for Palestine alone: it brought in to Herod and his sons seven hundred and sixty talents, which, to compute by the smaller talent, amount to about *three hundred and sixty nine thousand seven hundred and twenty nine pounds fourteen shillings and sevenpence sterling.*[k]

By little and little the Jews were established again; and, during the reign of the Persians, they lived under their own laws, in the form of a commonwealth, governed by the high priest, and the council of seventy-two elders. The country was repeopled, the towns new built, and the lands better cultivated than ever. Plenty was seen again; and there was such a profound peace and tranquillity, that, for nearly three hundred years, there happened no commotions, nor any thing that makes the common subject of histories; and thence proceeds that great void that we find between the time of Nehemiah and the Maccabees. The temple was honoured even by strangers, who visited it, and brought offerings thither.[l] In short, the prosperity of the Jews was so great after their return, that the prophets, in foretelling it, have left us the most magnificent types of the Messiah's reign.[m]

The Greeks began then to be acquainted with the Jews in Egypt and Syria, whither they often

[k] Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 766.

[l] Philo. leg.

[m] Several prophecies relative to this time of peace and prosperity have been applied by commentators to the days of the Messiah *exclusively*. This should be carefully avoided.

travelled: and they made great use of this correspondence, if we may believe the most antient Christian authors, as Justin Martyr, and Clemens of Alexandria; for they assure us, that the Greek poets, lawgivers, and philosophers, learnt the best part of their doctrine from the Jews. Indeed Solon travelled into Egypt; and the laws that he gave to the Athenians, were very like those of Moses. Pythagoras had been long in Egypt, and went to Babylon in the time of Cambyses; he had therefore seen the Jews, and might have conversed with them. Plato studied many years in Egypt; and makes Socrates speak so many excellent things, founded upon the principles taught by Moses, that he may justly be supposed to have known something of them.

The best things which Plato teaches in his laws and commonwealth the Jews really practised; as living by one's own industry, without luxury, without ambition, without having it in our power to undo ourselves or grow too rich; esteeming justice the greatest of all blessings, and avoiding all novelty and change. In the persons of Moses, David, and Solomon, we discover examples of the wise man, whom he wished for to govern a state, and make it happy; which he scarcely hoped would ever come to pass. He mentions certain traditions of venerable antiquity, in several places, without supporting them with any proof, relating to the judgment of mankind after death, and the state of the other life, which are manifestly doctrines of the

true religion.[a] If Plato and the other Greeks had not learnt these truths immediately from the Jews, they had them at least from other people of the east, who being nearer the origin of mankind, and having writings more antient than the Greeks, had preserved many more traditions of the first men, though obscured and involved in fables.

CHAP. III.

The State of the Jews under the Macedonians.

THE conquests of Alexander made the Jews much better known to the Greeks, to whom they became subject. Josephus brings proofs of it from the testimony of Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, and Hecatæus the Abderite.[b] They continued to live according to their own laws, under the protection of the Macedonian kings, as they had done under the Persians: but, as their country lay between Syria and Egypt, they sometimes obeyed the king of one of those nations, and sometimes the king of the other, as they were strongest; and they were well or ill used by them according to the humour or interest of their kings, or the credit of their enemies. Alexander the Great, being convinced

[a] Plato de Repub. vi. & x. *in fine.*

[b] Joseph. cont. App. i. 22, 23. ii. 4.

of their affection and fidelity, gave them the province of Samaria, and exempted it from tribute; and, when he built Alexandria, settled some Jews in it, granting them the same privileges as the other citizens, till at last they also were called Macedonians.[b] Indeed, the first of the Ptolemies, having taken Jerusalem by surprise, carried great numbers of the Jews captives into Egypt, who were spread as far as Cyrene: but, afterwards finding how religious they were, and faithful to their oaths, he put some of them into his garrisons, and treated them so well that it drew many more into that country.[c] It is said that his son Philadelphus redeemed all the Jews that were slaves in his dominions, and sent great presents to Jerusalem to procure that translation which he got made of their law.[d]

They were also favoured by several kings of Syria. Seleucus Nicator gave them the right of citizens in the cities which he built in Asia Minor, and Cœlo-Syria, and even in Antioch his capital, with privileges that they also enjoyed under the Romans.[e] Antiochus the Great, having received signal services from the Jews, granted consider-

[b] Joseph. Ant. xii. 1. et cont. App. lib. ii. c. 2.

[c] Ib. Ant. xii. 2.

[d] See Aristeus's History of the Septuagint. Notwithstanding the testimony of Josephus, Aristæus, and several of the primitive fathers, the history of the Greek translation of the Scriptures, by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, is now considered either a *fable*, or *truth* so disguised, as to be so longer perceptible.

[e] Joseph. Ant. xii. 3.

able favours and immunities to the city of Jerusalem; and to secure Lydia and Phrygia, which were not quite sound in their allegiance, he established colonies of Jews there, giving them lands to cultivate and build on.

The first privilege that the Jews always asked upon these occasions, was liberty to exercise their religion and observe their law. But as for the rest, they could not avoid learning many Grecian customs, as they had Chaldean and others; and particularly the Greek tongue, which was then become common throughout all the East, and continued so as long as the Roman empire lasted there. Thence it was that many took Greek names, as Aristobulus, Philon, Andreas, and Philippus; or Hebrew names disguised with Greek terminations, as Jason for Jesus, Simon for Simeon, Hierosolyma for Jerusalem.

It was probably about this time that the Jews passed the seas, and settled in Europe: for they who understood the Greek tongue, and had resided among that people in Asia, Syria, and Egypt, might easily live in any part of the Grecian empire, even in Macedonia and Achaia, according as they found it more convenient, or they enjoyed greater liberty. Thus, St. Paul found great numbers of them in all the cities of Greece, when he went to preach the gospel there, about two hundred and fifty years after the time of Antiochus the Great. These Jews were half Greeks, whom the Eastern Jews called *Hellenists*; and they gave the Gentiles the name of *Hellenes*, which properly signifies

Greeks; whence it comes that, in St. Paul's Epistles, Greek and Gentile signify the same thing.[f]

The Jews could not be so mixed with the Greeks without the latter, who were very curious at that time, getting some knowledge of their religion and laws, especially after the translation of the sacred Books. Their wise men and true philosophers held them in great esteem, as we may learn by what Strabo wrote about them long after.[g] All admired the magnificence of their temple, and exact order of their ceremonies. Agrippa himself, son-in-law of Augustus, was astonished at it. But most of the Greeks at that time, I mean in the reign of the Macedonians, were not capable of relishing the customs and maxims of the Jews. They were too grave for the people whom the Asiatic luxury had made effeminate, and whose sole employment was in trifles.[h] There were indeed a great number of philosophers; but most of them contented themselves with only discoursing upon virtue, and exercising themselves in disputation. All the rest of the Greeks were possessed with curiosity, and a fondness for *polite literature*: some applied themselves to rhetoric, others to poetry and music. Painters, sculptors, and architects, were in great repute. Others spent all their time in gymnastic exercises, to form their bodies and make

[f] Rom. i. 16. ii. 10, &c. [g] Strabo, lib. xvi.

[h] *Ut primum positis nugari Græcia bellis*
Cœpit, &c. Hor. lib. ii. epod. i. 93.

"Greece, having laid aside warfare, began to amuse herself with trifles."

them good wrestlers. Others studied geometry, astronomy, and natural philosophy. There were every where virtuosi, connoisseurs, curious, and idle people of all sorts.

The manners of the Romans were at that time much more solid.[1] They applied themselves to nothing but agriculture, the knowledge of the laws and war; and willingly left the glory of excelling in curious arts and sciences to the Greeks, that they might have the more time to extend their conquests, and attend the government of their subjects; making politics, as Virgil says,[k] their principal concern. The Jews were still a great deal more serious, as they made morality and the service of God their chief study. We have a good example of it in the book of Ecclesiasticus, written about

[1] *Romæ dulce diu fuit et solenne reclusâ*
Manè domo vigilare, clienti promere jura.
Majores audire, minori dicere, per quæ
Crescere res posset. Hor. lib. ii. epod. i. 165.

"At Rome, it was long a delightful and solemn practice to rise early in the morning, explain the laws to clients—to hear lessons of instruction from the aged, and to teach the youth."

[k] *Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra:—*
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento,
Hæ tibi erunt artes pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectos, et debellare superbos.
Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 848, &c.

Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass—;
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey:—
To tame the proud, the fettered race to free,
These are imperial arts, and worthy thee. Dryp.

the same time. Yet this was the reason that the Greeks looked upon them as an ignorant people, seeing they would learn nothing but their own law.[1] They called them *barbarians*, as they did all nations that were not Greeks; and despised them more than any other strangers upon account of their religion, which to them appeared austere and absurd.[m] They saw them refrain from debauchery, not out of frugality and policy, but a principle of conscience: this appeared to them too strict; and they were particularly offended at their sabbaths, their fasts, and distinction of meats. They accounted them enemies to all mankind. *They live separate from every body else*, says a Greek philosopher, *having nothing common with us, neither altar, offerings, prayers, nor sacrifices. They are at a greater distance from us than the inhabitants of Susa, Bactria, and India.*[n]

We may add to this, that the fear of idolatry made the Jews reject sculpture and painting, (which arts the Greeks held in much esteem) as useless, ridiculous pieces of workmanship, and the fruits of idleness:[o] which is the reason that idols are so often called *vanity* in Scripture, to shew they are vain things, which have only a deceitful

[1] Joseph. cont. App. lib. i. c. 4. et lib. ii. c. 6. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v.

[m] *Judæorum mos tristis absurdusque.*—Tacit. hist. v. *init.* This is the testimony of an historian who disgraced himself by writing concerning a people of whom he knew nothing; and who is, on this account, properly stiled by Tertullian *mendaciorum loquacissimus*, the chief of liars.

[n] Philostr. vit. Apol. lib. v. c. 2. [o] Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv.

outside, and serve to no manner of good purpose.[p] They are also called an *abomination*,[q] because they cannot be sufficiently detested, when we consider the stupidity that attributes the incommunicable name of God to them. For the same reason, the Jews could not hear, without horror, the impious fables with which the Greek poets were filled. Thus they drew upon themselves the hatred of the grammarians, whose profession it was to explain them; and of the rhapsodists, who made a trade of singing their heroic poems in public; and of the actors of tragedies and comedies, and of all others whose livelihood depended upon poetry and false theology.

The Jews indeed made it a rule not to laugh at other nations, nor to say any thing disrespectful of their gods;[r] but it was scarcely possible that some word of contempt should not escape from them. Now, how angry must a Greek grammarian have been, if he had heard a Jew repeat a passage out of the Prophets against idols; if he had heard him assert that Homer was a false prophet and impostor; or ridicule the absurdities that occur in the genealogies, the amours and crimes of their gods? How could they bear one's shewing an abhorrence of the scandalous impurities of the theatre, and the abominable ceremonies of Bacchus and Ceres: in a word, to hear him maintain that the God of the Jews was the only true God, and that *they* only, of all the people upon earth, were in pos-

[p] Isaiah xliv. 10. Jer. x. 15. [q] Wisdom xiii. 13—19.
[r] Joseph. cont. App.

session of the true religion and morality? They despised them the more for not knowing how to make learned harangues, or dispute in form; and because, for a proof of these great truths, they chiefly alleged facts, that is to say, the great miracles that God had wrought in the sight of their fathers. Now the common people among the Greeks did not make any distinction between those miracles and the prodigies which they also related in their fables: and philosophers thought them impossible, because they only reasoned from the laws of nature, which they held to be absolutely fixed and unalterable.[s]

This being the disposition of the Greeks, they listened the more eagerly to the calumnies of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and other enemies of the Jews: and thence proceeded those impertinent stories which Tacitus tells us so gravely,[t] when he is explaining the origin of the Jews, and has a mind to act the learned historian; and which are likewise to be met with in Justin, who had had the same information.[u] Strabo does not seem to know much more of the matter, though he treats it more sensibly.[w]

But besides these slanders, which might have been easily overlooked, the Greeks proceeded to violence and persecution. Thus Ptolemy Philopator, after he had lost the battle of Raphia, discharged his wrath upon the Jews; and his son Epiphanes,

[s] Galen de Usu Partium. [t] Hist. lib. v. *init.*
[u] Justini Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 2, 3.
[w] Lib. xvi.

being provoked at their not letting him go into the sanctuary, would have them exposed to elephants, as it is related in the Maccabees. Under Seleucus Philopater, king of Syria, Heliodorus came to plunder the sacred treasure; and nothing but a miracle prevented him doing it.[x] At last, under Antiochus Epiphanes began the greatest persecution they ever suffered, and which is not inferior to any that the Christians have since endured.[y] Those who died at that time for the law of GOD have been ordinarily classed among the martyrs.

They are the first we know of, who laid down their lives in that good cause. The three companions of Daniel, when they were cast into the furnace,[z] and he himself, by being exposed to the lions, had all the merit of martyrdom; but GOD wrought miracles to preserve them. Eleazar, the seven brethren, and the rest that are mentioned in the history of the Maccabees,[a] really gave up their lives for the sake of GOD and the law of their fathers, which is the first example, that I know, of this kind of virtue, in the whole history of the world. We see no infidel, not even one of the philosophers, who chose to suffer death, and the most cruel punishment, rather than violate his religion, or the laws of his country.

Josephus boldly reproaches the Gentiles with it. *Many captives*, says he, *of our nation have suffered all sorts of torment and death in the theatres, and*

[x] 2 Macc. iii. 7, &c.
[y] 1 Macc. i. &c.
[z] Dan. iii. 21.
[a] 2 Macc. vi. 18, and c. vii.

upon divers occasions, rather than speak the least word against the Law, and the other Scriptures:— but where is the Greek that would not let all the books of his nation be burnt, rather than suffer any harm himself?[a]

Indeed some Jews were overcome by persecution: but then they entirely renounced their religion and laws, and used artifice to disguise their circumcision: so that they were no longer accounted Jews. And such as continued faithful were so zealous for their law and liberty, that, at last, they took up arms, to defend themselves against the Syrian kings. These princes openly violated all the privileges that had been granted to the Jews by the kings of Persia, and confirmed by Alexander, and the other Macedonian kings; and seemed determined to abolish the true religion, which was still at that time confined to a particular people and country.

CHAP. IV.

The Reign of the Asmoneans.

WE are now come to the time of the Maccabees,[b] when the Jewish nation raised itself up again, and shone with a new lustre. They were no longer a

[a] Contra App. lib. I.

[b] It is probable that Judas, the son of Simon, had the sur-

poor people, that aspired no higher than to live in peace, under the conduct of their high-priest and elders; whose happiness only consisted in being at liberty to cultivate their lands, and serve GOD in their own way. They became a state entirely independent, supported by good troops, strong garrisons, and alliances, not only with their neighbouring princes, but with remote kingdoms, even Rome itself.[b] The kings of Egypt and Syria, who had used them so ill, were forced afterwards to court their friendship. They also made conquests: John Hyrcanus took Sichem and Gerizim, and destroyed the temple of the Samaritans;[c] so absolute was he over all the land of Israel. He extended his dominions into Syria, where he conquered several towns, after the death of Antiochus Sidetes; and into Idumea, which he so entirely subdued, that he obliged the inhabitants to be circumcised and observe the law of Moses, as being incorporated into the nation of the Jews. His son Aristobulus added the ensigns of royalty to the regal power, taking the diadem and title of king: [d]and Alexander Jannæus made still greater conquests.

name of *Maccabeus* from the circumstance of his having the following motto on his ensigns, מי כמכה באלים יהוה *mi camocah baalim Yehovah?* Who among the gods is like unto thee, O Jehovah? Exod. xv. 14. the initial letters of the four words making the term מכבי *macabi*. Hence his followers were called *Maccabeans*.

[b] Macc. xiv. 4, 18. [c] Joseph. Ant. xiii. 17.

[d] Joseph. Ant. xiii. c. 20, 21, 22.

But this glory of the Jews was of short continuance: for, though the weakening the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria had served to exalt them, the entire ruin of those two kingdoms brought on theirs too, by the vast addition it made to the Roman power. Indeed, the beginning of their decay was occasioned by their domestic quarrels, and the continual misunderstandings betwixt the two sons of Alexander Jannæus, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. In short, they had enjoyed their liberty but fourscore years, since Simon had been declared head of their nation, after casting off the Grecian yoke, till Pompey, invited by Hyrcanus, took Jerusalem, entered into the temple, and made the Jews tributaries.

After that, they were in a miserable condition for above twenty years: divided by the parties of the two brothers, and plundered by the Romans,[a] who took from them, at different times, above ten thousand talents, which is about *four million, eight hundred and sixty four thousand, eight hundred and sixty four pounds seventeen shillings and threepence* sterling. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, the Parthians, taking advantage of Mark Antony's weakness, who was the governor of the east, made themselves masters of Syria and Palestine, and took Hyrcanus captive.

During all the time of the Roman civil wars, and whilst the Parthians governed them, Palestine was exposed to cruel ravages by so many armies of

[a] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 8, 12.

different nations passing through it, and by the incursions of neighbouring people, particularly the Arabians.

It is true, it recovered again a little under Herod.[f] He brought back peace and plenty to it: he was powerful, rich, and lived in great state. But it cannot be said the Jews were free in his time. He was not so himself, and depended entirely upon the Roman emperors. He was a foreigner, by birth an Idumean, had no religion, and only kept up the appearance of it to serve political purposes. He destroyed the succession of the high-priests, sending for one Hananiel from Babylon, a despicable man, though of the sacerdotal family;[g] after whom they had no high-priests but such, and as many, as the kings pleased.

When Herod was dead, there was no longer any power in Judea. His sons only kept part of his kingdom, and that not long. Judea had Roman governors, depending upon the proconsul of Syria. At last the Jews were banished out of it, and reduced to their present condition. This therefore is the last time that any account is to be made of them, as a nation, from their liberty under Simon and the Asmoneans, till their destruction under Vespasian. It is a period of about two hundred years, taking in most part of the history of the Maccabees, and all that of the New Testament: during which time the manners of the Jews were very different from what they were before.

[f] Joseph. Ant. xv. [g] Ibid. c. 2.

CHAP. V.

The Manners of the Jews of later times.

THESE later Jews were mingled with many nations. There were some of them settled *in every country under heaven,*[a] as the Scripture says. Many came to dwell in Judea, or at least made some journeys of devotion thither, to sacrifice in the only temple where it was lawful to do so. Besides, there were always from time to time some Gentiles who were made converts. Thus the Jews were, properly speaking, no longer a people by themselves, using the same language and customs; for many others began to unite under the same religion. The inhabitants of the Holy Land consisted of different nations, as Idumeans, and other Arabians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Greeks.

All the Jews still looked upon themselves as brethren, and assisted each other in whatever part of the world they were dispersed. They exercised hospitality towards such as travelled; and relieved the poor in all provinces, but especially in Judea. As they that were at a distance could not pay their tenths and first-fruits in kind, nor come to the temple to make their offerings upon all festivals, they turned all these dues into money, and these

[a] Acts ii. 5.

contributions altogether made up a considerable sum;[b] which each province sent annually to Jerusalem for the expense of sacrifices, and maintaining the priests and poor. This is the Jewish gold that Tully speaks of.[c]

These collections continued many years after the destruction of the temple.[d] The chief of the nation sent out senators at certain times, who commonly resided near him; and were called *Apostles*, that is to say, envoys. They went through the provinces to visit the synagogues; and had authority over such as presided there, and over the elders and ministers, and at the same time carried back the collections to the patriarch. But the Christian emperors forbad the continuance of it.[e] The patriarchs came to this dignity by succession; so that they were often infants.[f] But, before Jerusalem was destroyed, some of the heads of their nation resided in every province, who were called in Greek *ethnarchs*, and judged them by their own law. Those of Egypt are famous, among others.

In Judea the Jews were governed, as before, by a council of seventy-two elders, which they called Sanhedrin, from a Greek word corrupted:[g] and these are *the elders of the people* mentioned in the Gospel.[h] In every synagogue there was a head or

[b] Joseph. Ant. xiv. 12. [c] Pro Flacco.
[d] Epiph. Hær. xxx. n. 4, 7, 11.
[e] Lib. iv. Cod. de Judæis. [f] Hier. in Isaiah iii. 4.
[g] Epiph. Hær. xxx. n. 1. סנהדרין *Sanhedrin*, from the Greek συνεδριον, from συν *together*, and εδρα *a seat*, an assembly of counsellors. [h] Luke xxii. 66, &c.

ruler of it, as we see in the New Testament.[i] There were priests or elders, and deacons or servants, named *hazanin*, to take care of the synagogue, and present the book to the doctor who instructed them. There were also twenty-three judges in each city, as has been said before; for it is to this time chiefly that all which the Talmud says concerning the form of judgments and the execution of justice must be referred.[k]

The Jews of Judea always applied themselves to tillage, breeding of cattle, and all kinds of husbandry. There are medals still remaining, as old as the times of the Maccabees, upon which are to be seen ears of corn and measures,[l] to shew the fertility of the country, and the honour in which they held agriculture. Thus an antient writer describes to us the prosperity of Simon's government. *Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit: the antient men sat all in the streets consulting together for the good of the country, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and sent them in all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy. For every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to*

[i] Luke viii. 41. [k] Cod. Sanhed. Maccoth.

[l] Vales. in Euseb. vii. 10. Palad. Vita Chrysost. See the Shekel in the Prolegomena to Walton's Polyglott.

disquiet them.[m] And the author of Ecclesiasticus has not omitted taking notice of this duty. *Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry,* says he, *which the Most High has ordained.*[n]

There are some remains of old customs in every nation: there were still at that time *husbandmen* of good families in Italy and Sicily, and there will always be *hunters* in Germany.

Most of the parables in the Gospel are taken from a country life: *the sower, the good seed, the tares, the vineyard, the good tree, the bad tree, the strayed sheep, the good shepherd;* and all this often spoken in cities, and in Jerusalem itself. Indeed, many parables shew us that trading with money was common among the Jews, and that there were bankers and usurers by profession. Many were publicans, that is, farmers of the tribute and revenues: but this was an office that drew upon them the public hatred. Joseph the son of Tobit is a notorious example, who got all the tribute of Syria and Phœnicia awarded to him under Ptolemy Epiphanes, and acquired immense riches by it.[o]

If there were bankers and tax-gatherers among the Jews, there is more reason to think there were wholesale and retail merchants; both which are mentioned by the author of Ecclesiasticus, where he says he looked upon them as dangerous trades: *A merchant can hardly keep himself from doing wrong, and a huckster shall not be freed from sin.*[p]

[m] 1 Macc. xiv. 8, &c.
[n] Ecclus. vii. 15.
[o] Joseph. Ant. xii. 4.
[p] Ecclus. xxvi. 29.

He goes to the source of the evil; and adds, *That the desire of riches blindeth men, and makes them fall into sin;* and that *as a nail sticks fast between the joinings of the stones, so doth sin stick close betwixt buying and selling.*[q] Thus did GOD call back His people to their antient customs, shewing them the powerful reasons that induced their fathers not to trade.

But they were not much better for His instructions; and since their utter reprobation they have always been departing farther and farther from the simple and natural way in which the Israelites lived. It is a long time since the Jews had any lands, or followed husbandry; they live only by trade, and by the worst sort of it too. They are retailers, brokers, and usurers; their whole substance consists only in money, and other moveables; few of them have habitations of their own in any city.

Many profess physic, and have done so ever since the time of which I am speaking. The author of Ecclesiasticus shews it, who recommends the use of this art, and the composition of medicines.[r] There is mention made in the Gospel of a woman who had spent all that she had upon physicians.[s] What the forementioned author says afterwards of the great leisure required for the study of wisdom[t] seems to prove that the scribes or doctors made it their whole employment: but he shews at

[q] Ecclus. xxvii. 2.
[r] Ecclus. xxxviii. 1—15.
[s] Luke viii. 43.
[t] Ecclus. xxviii. 24.

the same time the necessity of artificers; and there were then many among the Jews.[u] The apostles, Joseph, and JESUS CHRIST Himself, are undeniable examples of it; and, what is most remarkable, St. Paul, though brought up to letters, was likewise master of a trade. The Jews relate the same of their most celebrated rabbins.[x]

CHAP. VI.

Their Sects and Superstitions.

THE difference of sects began at that time: under Jonathan the son of Mattathias there were already Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.[a] The Pharisees joined the traditions of the fathers to the text of the law, which were preserved without writing; and, though the doctrine they maintained was good at the bottom, they mixed a great many superstitions with it. They believed in fate, moderated by free-will, or rather by Providence, which guides it. The Sadducees, who were a sort of Deists, imputed all to free-will. They acknowledged only the five books of Moses as divine; and these they inter-

[u] Ecclus. xxxviii. 27, &c.
[a] Joseph. Ant. xiii. 9. xviii. 2.
[x] Talmud.

preted literally; and pretended that they did not oblige them to believe a resurrection, or the immortality of the soul, or that there were angels or spirits.[b] Thus they served GOD only for a temporal reward, and gave themselves up much to sensual pleasures. They had little agreement among themselves, and but small authority with the people. Their number was not great; but they were the chief of the nation, and even many of them priests. The common people were more attached to the Pharisees, who kept up an outward shew of great piety. Queen Alexandra gave them considerable power in the minority of her sons.[c]

The sect of Essenes was the most singular. They avoided living in great towns, their goods were in common, and their diet very plain.[d] They spent a great deal of time in prayer, and meditating upon the law. Their manner of life was very like that of the prophets and Rechabites. Some of them too observed a perfect continence, leading a life altogether contemplative; and in such purity, that many of the fathers have taken them for Christians. They were a very simple and upright people, and are never reprehended by CHRIST or His apostles.

The Pharisees lived in the midst of the world, in great amity with one another, leading a plain and outwardly strict life: but most of them were interested, ambitious, and covetous. They valued

[b] Acts xxiii. 8.
[c] Joseph. Bell. i. 4.
[d] Joseph. Bell. ii. 7.

themselves on a great exactness in the outward performance of the law.[e] They gave tithes not only of large fruits, but of the smallest herbs, as cummin, mint, and anise. They took great care to wash themselves, to purify their cups, their plate, and all their furniture. They kept the sabbath so scrupulously that they made it a crime in our Saviour to moisten a bit of clay at the end of his finger,[f] and in His disciples to pluck some ears of corn to eat as they passed along.[g] They fasted often, many of them twice a week,[h] *i. e.* on Mondays and Thursdays. They affected to wear the *totaphot,*[i] or *phylacteries,* on the borders of their garments, together with their *tsitsith,* or fringes, much larger than ordinary.[k] The *totaphot, tephillin,* or *phylacteries,* are scraps of writing, containing some passages of the law, fastened upon their forehead and left arm, in obedience to the command of having the law of GOD always before their eyes, or in their hands.[l] The *tsitsith,* or fringes, were of different colours; and they were ordered to wear them on the borders of their garments, that they might look upon them, and remember the commandments of GOD.[m] The Jews, even to this

[e] Matt. xxiii. 23. Mark vii. 2. [f] John ix. 6.
[g] Matt. xii. 2. [h] Luke xviii. 12.
[i] טוטפת Totphot, according to R. S. Jarchi, signifies *two* and *two,* or *twice two;* טט signifies *two* in the language of the Cathpians (a people of Spain,) and פת the same in the African or Punic tongue. Hence the *totphot* are always divided into four compartments. See Jarchi on Exod. xiii. 16.
[k] Matt. xxiii. 5. [l] Deut. vi. 8.
[m] Numb. xv. 38.

day, wear these outward marks of religion, when they go to the synagogue: but upon working days only; for upon the sabbath and feast-days they pretend they have no occasion for these remembrancers.[n]

[n] Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud. c. 4. PHYLACTERIES, φυλακτηρια, from φυλασσω to *keep* or *preserve*, were small slips of parchment or vellum, on which certain portions of the law were written. These the Jews tied about their foreheads and wrists,—1. To put them in mind of those precepts which they should constantly observe. 2. To procure them reverence and respect in the sight of the heathen. And, 3. To act as *amulets* or *charms* to drive away evil spirits. The *first use* of these phylacteries is evident from their *name*. The *second use* appears from what is said on the subject from *Gemara*, *Beracoth*, quoted by Kypke. "Whence is it proved that phylacteries (תפילין tephilin) are the strength of Israel? Ans. From what is written Deut. xxviii. 10. All the people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of יהוה Jehovah; and they shall be afraid of thee." The *third use* of them appears from the *Targum* on Cant. viii. 3. His left hand is under my head, &c. "The congregation of Israel hath said, I am elect above all people, because I bind my phylacteries on my left hand and on my head; and the scroll is fixed to the right side of my gate, the third part of which looks to my bed-chamber, that dæmons may not be permitted to injure me."

An original phylactery now lies before me. It is a piece of fine vellum, about eighteen inches long, and an inch and a quarter broad. It is divided into four unequal compartments. In the *first* is written in a very fair character (with many *apices* after the mode of the German Jews) the first ten verses of Exod. xiii. In the *second* compartment is written from the eleventh to the sixteenth verse of the same chapter, inclusive. In the *third*, from the fourth to the ninth verse inclusive, of Deut. vi. beginning with *Hear, O Israel*, &c. In the *fourth*, from the thirteenth to the twenty-first verse inclusive of Deut. xi. *And it*

The Pharisees gave alms in public, and made their faces dismal that they might look as if they fasted much.° For an unclean person to touch them was reckoned the highest affront: and such they esteemed not only the Gentiles and public sinners, but all that were of an odious profession. In short, most of them were devout only out of interest; they misled ignorant people by their specious discourses; and the women even stripped themselves of whatever was valuable, to enrich them; and, under pretence that they were the people of GOD, with whom the law was deposited, they despised the Greeks and Romans, and all the nations upon earth.

shall come to pass, &c. These passages seem to be chosen in vindication of the use of the phylactery itself, as the Reader will see in consulting them. *Bind them up for a sign upon thy hand, and for frontlets between thy eyes. Write them upon the posts of thy house, and upon thy gates;* all which commands the Jews took in the most literal sense. Even the phylactery became an important appendage to a Pharisee's character; insomuch that some of this sect wore them very broad, either that they might have the more written on them, or that the characters being larger, they might be the more visible, and that they might hereby acquire greater esteem among the common people. For the same reason they wore the *fringes* of their garments of an unusual length. Moses had commanded (Numb. xv. 38, 39.) the children of Israel to put fringes on the borders of their garments, that when they looked even upon these distinct threads, they might remember not only the law in general, but also the very minute or smaller parts of all the precepts, rites, and ceremonies belonging to it. As these hypocrites were destitute of the life and power of religion *within*, they endeavoured to supply its place by phylacteries and fringes *without*.

° Matt. vi. 2, 5, 16—18.

We still see in the books of the Jews these traditions, of which the Pharisees made so great a mystery from time to time, and which were written about a hundred years after the resurrection of CHRIST. It is hardly possible for a Christian to conceive the frivolous questions with which these books are filled; as, Whether it be lawful on the sabbath day to get upon an ass to take it to the water, or whether it must be led by the halter? Whether one may walk over new sown land; because one runs a hazard of taking up some grains with the foot, and consequently of sowing them on some other place? Whether it be permitted on that day to write as many letters of the alphabet as will make sense? If it be lawful to eat an egg laid on the sabbath the same day? About purifying the old leaven before the passover. Whether they must begin again to purify a house, if they should see a mouse running across it with a crumb of bread? If it be lawful to keep pasted paper, or any plaster that has flour in it? If it be lawful to eat what has been dressed with the coals that remain after the old leaven is burnt?[p] and a thousand other such cases of conscience, with which the Talmud and its commentaries are stuffed.

Thus the Jews forgot the greatness and majesty of the law of GOD, applying themselves to mean and trifling things; and were now stupid and ignorant in comparison of the Greeks, who reasoned upon more useful and elevated subjects in their

[p] Buxtorf. Synagog. cap. 11.

schools; and who, at least, were polite and agreeable, if not virtuous.

Not but that there were always some Jews more curious than the rest, who took pains to speak Greek correctly, read Greek books, and applied to their studies, as grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. Such a one was Aristobulus, a peripatetic philosopher, preceptor to Ptolemy Philometor; and such were Eupolemus, Demetrius, and the two Philos. Some of them wrote histories in Greek, and after the Greek manner; as Jason of Cyrene; and the author of the second book of Maccabees,[q] who has abridged his works; Philo, and Josephus the celebrated historian.

Most of the Jews that studied Greek lived at Alexandria. Others were content to speak Greek so as to be understood, that is, badly, and always retaining the turn of their native language: and it is in this compound Greek that the translations of the Old Testament, and the original of the New, are written. The apostles and evangelists thought it sufficient to write in a clear and concise manner, despising all ornaments of language, and making use of that which was most easy to be understood by the common people of their own nation; so that, to understand their Greek perfectly, one must be acquainted with the Hebrew and Syriac.[r]

[q] 2 Macc. ii. 23.

[r] In order to understand the phraseology of the New Testament properly, the Septuagint should be carefully studied; and indeed a knowledge of Hebrew is, in many respects, essential to a thorough understanding of *both*.

The Jews of these later times employed themselves much in reading their law, and the Holy Scriptures in general. They were not satisfied with expounding them according to the letter; they found out several senses in them, expressed by allegories and divers metaphors: we see it not only in the New Testament, and the writings of the most antient fathers in controversy with them,[s] but by the books of Philo, the Talmud, and oldest Hebrew commentators upon the law, which they call *great Genesis, great Exodus,* and so on.[t] They held these figurative senses by tradition from their fathers.

But to say all at once, the manners of the Jews in those times were excessively corrupt. They were ridiculously proud of being descended from Abraham, and puffed up with the promises of the Messiah's kingdom, which they knew to be near, and imagined would abound with victories and all manner of temporal prosperity. They were selfish, avaricious, and sordid, especially the Pharisees, who were in general great hypocrites: they were wavering and unfaithful; always ripe for sedition and revolt, under a pretence of casting off the yoke of the Gentiles. In short, they were violent and cruel, as appears by what they made our Saviour and His apostles undergo; and the unexampled injuries they did one another, both in the time of the civil war, and the last siege of Jerusalem.

[s] Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. [t] Bereshith Rabba, &c.

CHAP. VII.

The true Israelites.

HOWEVER, it was among these people that the tradition of virtue was preserved, as well as that of doctrine and religion. In this last time they had still splendid examples of holiness: Zachariah and Elizabeth his wife, Joseph, old Simeon, Anna the prophetess, Nathaniel, Gamaliel the great doctor, and many others taken notice of in the history of the New Testament. All these holy persons, and the spiritual Jews in general, that were circumcised in heart as well as body, were children of Abraham, more by imitation of his faith than by birth. They firmly believed the prophecies and promises of GOD; they waited with patience for the redemption of Israel and the reign of the Messiah, which they vehemently wished for: but they plainly saw they were not to confine their hopes to this life, but believed the resurrection, and expected the kingdom of heaven. Thus, the grace of the gospel being superadded to such holy dispositions, it was easy to make *perfect Christians* of these *true Israelites.*[a]

[a] This conclusion serves the pious author to introduce his tract entitled *Les Mœurs des Chrétiens*, the Manners of the Christians; a work in which we find the same vein of genuine unaffected piety; but which is rendered of comparatively little

use to Christians in general by the decided part which he, at least, indirectly takes in the defence and support of his own church, and its tenets. The *conclusion* however, as it refers to *both* treatises, I shall insert here: "Behold the sum of what I wished to say relative to the Manners of the Israelites and the Christians, which comprises the exterior of the life of the faithful under the Old and New Testaments. In the first tract the reader may learn how to make a proper use of earthly possessions, and the most rational manner of employing that time which he has to spend upon earth. In the second tract I have endeavoured to shew in what the life of those consists, whose conversation is in heaven; who, though in the flesh, live not after the flesh; that life which is wholly spiritual and supernatural, and the proper effect of the grace of JESUS CHRIST. Exceedingly happy shall I be, should this work be the means of inducing any person to adopt a proper notion of this rational and Christian life, and lead him seriously to practise it."

The Editor of the present edition hopes he may be permitted to express the same feeling, as it was with this view alone that he has spent so much labour and time upon this and the preceding editions.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Supplement to Chap. III. concerning the population of antient nations.

Referred to in page 39.

AS popular arithmetic is become a subject of considerable importance, the reader will not be displeased to see the following collections in this place, relative to the population of some antient states.

The free citizens of Sybaris, able to bear arms, and actually drawn out in battle, were 300,000. They encountered at *Siagara* with 100,000 of Crotona, a neighbouring Greek city, and were defeated. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. Strabo confirms this account. lib. vi.

The citizens of Agrigentum, when it was destroyed by the Carthaginians, amounted, according to Diodorus Siculus. (lib. xiii.) to 20,000, besides 200,000 strangers; but neither the slaves, nor women and children, are included in this account.

On the whole, this city must have contained nearly 2,000,000 of inhabitants.

Polybius says, (lib. ii.) that when the Romans were threatened with an invasion from the Gauls between the first and second Punic war, on a muster of their own forces, and those of their allies, they were found to amount to 700,000 men able to bear arms. The country that supplied this number was not one third of Italy, *viz.* the Pope's dominions, Tuscany, and a part of the kingdom of Naples. But Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii.) makes the same enumeration amount to nearly 1,000,000.

Julius Cæsar, according to Appian *(Celtica)* encountered 4,000,000 of Gauls, killed one million, and took another million prisoners.

Athenæus says, (lib. vi. cap. 20.) that by the enumeration of Demetrius Phalereus, there were in Athens 21,000 citizens, 13,000 strangers, and 400,000 slaves.

The same author says, that Corinth had once 460,000 slaves; and Ægina 470,000.

The Spartans, says Plutarch (in vit. Lycurg.) were 9,000 in the town, 30,000 in the country: the male slaves must have been 78,000, the whole more than 3,120,000.

In the time of Diodorus Siculus there lived in Alexandria 300,000 free people; and this number does not seem to comprehend either the slaves (who must have been double the number of grown persons) or the women and children. lib. xvii.

Appian says, *(Celt.* pars 1.) that there were 400 nations in Gaul; and Diodorus Siculus says, (lib.

v.) that the largest of these nations consisted of 200,000 men, besides women and children, and the least of 50,000. Calculating therefore at a medium, we must admit of nearly 200,000,000 of people in that country; the population of which does not now amount to thirty millions. The latter historian tells us, that the army of Ninus was composed of 1,700,000 foot, and 200,000 horse. (lib. ii.) There were exact bills of mortality kept at Rome; but no antient author has given us the number of burials, except Suetonius, who tells us that in one season 30,000 names were carried to the temple of Libitina, (the goddess of death): but it appears that a plague raged at that time. Suet. in vit. Neronis.

Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii.) says, that Dionysius the elder had a standing army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, and a fleet of 400 gallies.

If the preceding statements be correct, what desolations must have taken place in the earth in the course of the last 2000 years!

Baron Montesquieu supposes that population is not so great now as it was formerly. Lettres Persannes, & L'Esprit de Loix, liv. xxiii. Chap. 17, 18, 19. Travel (says this sensible writer) through the whole earth, and you will find nothing but decay: one might well suppose it to be just arising out of the ravages of the plague or of the famine. After the most exact calculation which subjects of this nature can admit of, we find that there is scarcely the fiftieth part of men upon the earth now, that there was in the time of Julius

Cæsar. What is most astonishing is, that population decreases daily; and, if this should continue, the world must become a desart in the course of ten centuries. This is the most terrible catastrophe that has ever taken place in the world; but it is scarcely perceived because it comes insensibly, and in the course of a great number of centuries: but this proves that an inward decay, a secret and hidden poison, a languishing disease, afflicts the whole course of human nature.

See Mr. Hume's Essay on the Populousness of Antient Nations.

Certain critics have objected to the statements in this chapter, not because they are falsely quoted; but because they suppose them to be incorrect. I have only to observe that they are historic facts, and the truth of them rests on the credit of the authors from whom they are extracted.

No. II.

Supplement to Chapter IX. on the Purification of the HINDOOS and MOHAMMEDANS.

Referred to in p. 75.

PURIFICATIONS among the *Hindoos* make an essential part of religion. Several of those at present in use among this people are dictated by common sense and expediency; but the far greater part is the issue of the grossest superstition. In this latter class are found many that are absurd,

nugatory, and ridiculous. The following, which I have extracted from the *Ayeen Akbery*, will exhibit a satisfactory view of this subject.

The soul, say the Hindoo sages, is purified by knowledge, and religious worship. A DRUNKARD is purified by *melted glass*. When the BODY is defiled by any impurity that proceeds from itself, it is purified by *earth* and *water*, and by *washing* the *teeth* and *eyes*. WATER that has been defiled by the shadow of an impure person is purified by *sunshine*, *moonshine*, or *wind*. If any filth falls from an animal into a *well*, they must draw out *sixty jars* of *water*; and if the same accident happens to a *pond*, they must take out *one hundred jars*. If any filth falls into *oil*, it must be *boiled*. COTTON, MOLASSES, or GRAIN, after separating whatever had defiled it, must be *sprinkled* with *water*. GOLD, SILVER, STONE, VEGETABLES, SILK, and whatever *grows in the earth*, are purified by being *washed in water*. If they have been defiled by *unclean oil*, they must be washed in *hot water*. WOODEN VESSELS, if touched by an impure person, *cannot be purified* by *any means*. But if they are touched by another *unclean thing*, or by a *Sooder*, (one of the inferior Hindoo casts,) they may be purified by *scraping*. The same rule is to be observed of *bone or horn*. Any *stone vessel* that has been defiled, after being *washed* must be *buried for seven days*. A *sieve*, or *pestle* and *mortar*, is purified by being *sprinkled with water*. An *earthen vessel* is purified by being *heated on the fire*. The *earth* is cleansed by *sweeping*, or by *washing*, or

by *lighting a fire upon* it; or if a *cow* lies down upon it, or walks over it, or in time it will purify itself. If a *cow* touches any food with her mouth, or a *hair*, a *fly*, or any other insect falls therein, it is purified by *ashes* or *water*. If it is defiled by any filth falling off the body of the person who is eating, he must wash it with *water*, or *scour* it *with earth*, till it is perfectly clean. If a *man* defile himself in the *upper parts* of the body, excepting the hands, he must *scour himself with earth*, and *bathe*. If he defiles himself in the *lower parts*, he is purified by *washing the parts*. If he is defiled by *drinking wine*, or by *having connection with an impure woman*, or by any *human excrement*, he is purified by *washing*, *scouring with earth*, and by *washing again*, if *below* the navel: but if it happens above the navel, then after the second washing, he must anoint the parts with *ghee*,[a] *cow's milk*, and *curds*, and *cow's dung* and *urine*; and he must also drink *three handsful of river water*. If he is defiled by the touch of a *washerman*, or a *dealer in leather*, or an *executioner*, or a *hunter*, or a *fisherman*, or an *oilman*, or a *tame dog*, he is purified by *water* alone. But if he touch an *unclean woman*, a *sweeper*, a *sinner*, a *corpse*, a *dog*, *ass*, *cat*, *crow*, *cock*, or *hen*, *or* a *mouse*, or a *camel*, or is defiled by the *smoke of a corpse* that is burning, or by the *dust* shaken off an ass, dog, sheep, or goat, he *must go into the water with his clothes on*, *look at the sun*, *and repeat some particular*

[a] Clarified butter.

prayers. If he touches *human fat,* or *bone,* he must *bathe with his clothes on;* or *drink three handsful of water;* or *look at the sun;* or *put his hand upon a cow.* If he is soiled with the *blood of clean animals,* he is purified by *scouring himself with earth* and *water.* If a *garment of wool* or *silk* is polluted by such things as would require a man, if touched, to *bathe,* it is purified by the *wind* or *sunshine.*[a]

When we see so much zeal manifested, and so much attention excited to avoid matters proscribed by a worthless religious system, is it not reasonable to suppose that if that pure and rational system of salvation, laid down in the Christian Scriptures, were fairly proposed to a people groaning under such burthensome and useless rites, it would be most joyfully received? But, alas, so perverted is the soul of man, that he would rather *spend his money for that which is not bread, and his labour for that which satisfieth not,* than receive the salvation of GOD *without money and without price.*

We have reason, however, to anticipate in pleasing hope the time in which it is likely this degraded people will cast off this oppressive yoke; as by the labours of the Protestant missionaries now resident in Calcutta the Sacred Writings have been or are in the progress of being translated into the principal languages of India, and distributed among millions of miserable idolaters. Several thousands of copies of the Old and New Testaments in Bengalee have already been printed and dis-

[a] Ayeen Akbery, Vol. III. p 243.

tributed among the Hindoos; and I have authority to add, they were gladly received, and eagerly read.

Among the *Mohammedans* purification is considered as essential to devotion, and the very *key* of prayer, without which it is of no effect. It is of two descriptions, the *ghosse*, or complete ablution of the *whole body*; and the *wazoo*, or washing of the *hands* and *feet* on particular occasions, and after a particular manner. In many respects the purifications among the Mohammedans are similar to those among the Jews. Indeed Mohammed copied many from the Jewish Scriptures, of which he made a pretty extensive use in composing his *Korân*.[a]

No. III.

A Supplement to Chap. XI. concerning the Music and Poetry of the Hebrews.

Referred to p. 101.

THERE were no instruments of music used in the worship of GOD from the foundation of the world till the time of David. He introduced singers and players on musical instruments: but this was rather by the permission, than by the express au-

[a] See the Hedaya Prel. Disc. p. liii.

thority, of GOD. As David was a very elegant poet, and was led to devote his extraordinary talents to the most sublime and glorious of all subjects, the celebration of the being and attributes of the most High GOD; and as instrumental music was generally a concomitant of the poetic gift, and probably observing a fondness for such instruments among the people at large, who appear to have made an improper use of them in feasts, &c.[a] he thought proper to consecrate them to the service of the sanctuary; and composed a variety of Odes or Psalms with which they were to be accompanied on the different solemnities among the Jews.

It is in vain to attempt to trace the use of musical instruments in the service of GOD any higher than the days of David; for the *horns* and *trumpets* which were in use before appear to have answered no other purpose than merely to convoke the public assemblies, as *bells* were not then in use. Nor does it appear from any part of the Scriptures, as far as I can recollect, that their introduction was ever sanctified by Divine authority. In 1 Chron. xvi. 42. it is said, that *Heman* and *Jeduthun* were appointed *with trumpets and cymbals for those that should make a sound; and with musical instruments of GOD;* and this text is supposed to be a clear proof, that these were of Divine appointment. But the last clause, *musical instruments of GOD*, when examined in the original, will not support this inference. כלי שיר האלהים *kelee sheer haeloheem*,

[a] See Isa. v. 12. compared with Amos v. 23. and vi. 1—5.

literally signifies, the *instruments of* GOD'S *song*: properly translated by the Septuagint οργανα των ωδων του Θεου, *the organs of the songs of* GOD. The parallel text in 2 Chron. vii. 6. *the instruments of music of the* LORD, has precisely the same meaning with the above, the words being the same; only יהוה *yehovah* is, in the latter text, put for אלהים *eloheem* in the former. The *song* GOD inspired, and commanded to be sung; but the *instruments* were of a different appointment.

In the first, the pure and perfect ages of the Christian church, there were no instruments of music used in the worship of GOD: indeed, had they been proposed, they would doubtless have been considered by the Primitive Christians as an attempt to *judaize* Christianity, by conforming the *church* to the *synagogue*.

The Syriac version of 1 Chron. xvi. 41, 42. is very remarkable. I shall subjoin a literal translation of it, which the reader may compare with the English version, or with the Hebrew text. *These are the names of the men who were employed in praises. Heman and Erithun*[b] *(and other righteous men whose names are unknown) that they might give thanks to the* LORD, *whose goodness is everlasting. And these are the righteous men who did not sing with instruments of music, nor with*

[b] Erithun is, I suppose, a corruption of the word Iduthun, or Jedithun; for as, both in *Syriac* and *Hebrew*, the *daleth* bears the nearest resemblance to the *resh*, these letters may be readily mistaken for each other.

drums, nor with sistrums (or harps) *nor with pipes crooked or straight, nor with cymbals; but they sung with a joyous mouth, and with a pure and perfect prayer, with innocence and integrity before the Lord God Almighty, the God of Israel.* The Arabic version is almost word for word with the above. As the Syriac version was made about the second century (some think in the Apostolic age), and probably by a *Christian*, we may see from the turn he gave to the original that instrumental music in that time was not esteemed in the church of GOD. Indeed it seems to have no good influence; and is only calculated to draw light, vain, and giddy persons together.

Where poetry had attained such a high state of cultivation as the poetic compositions of the Hebrew Prophets sufficiently prove, instrumental music must have kept proportionable pace. According to the accounts of the Rabbins, the Hebrews had more instruments of music among them than any other people on the earth. They generally reckon about thirty-four different kinds. Calmet, who has examined this subject with great accuracy and critical acumen, *Dissertation sur les Instrumens de Musique des Hebreux*, prefixed to his commentary on the Psalms, reduces this number by taking away the following *fourteen.*

1. NEGINOTH, (נגינות) translated by the LXX. υμνος a hymn, and by the Vulgate *canticum*, a song, signifies those who play on instruments, or the pieces themselves which are played. See Job xxx. 9. Psa. lxix. 12. and the titles of several Psalms.

2. NEHILOTH (נחילות) signifies dances, or choirs of dancing women, from the verb חלל chalal, *to dance.* It is found in the title of Psalm v.

3. SHEMINITH (שמינית): as this word literally signifies *the eighth,* and as we find this used for an *eighth* course of musicians, 1 Chron. xv. 21. it probably has the same meaning in Psa. vi. in the title of which it stands in connexion with Neginoth mentioned above.

4. SHIGGAION (שגיון) signifies a song of consolation in distress, or a poetic composition similar to our *elegy.* It is found in the title of Psa. vii. and the plural *Shigionoth,* in Habakkuk iii. 1.

5. GITTITH (גתית) *a person of Gath,* or the *wine pressing;* probably an air or song sung at the time of vintage. It occurs in the titles of the 8th, 81st, and 84th Psalms.

6. MUTHLABBEN (על מותלבן) al muthlaben *concerning the death of the son.* Title of Psalm ix. In 1 Chron. xvi. 20. alamoth (עלמות) is used, which signifies damsels or virgins; and Calmet thinks that a band of female musicians is meant, and that Laben, i. e. *to Ben,* refers to Benaiah, who was set over the band.

7. MICHTAM (מכתם): this occurs in the titles of the 16th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, and 60th, Psalms. It comes from the root כתם katham, to *inscribe,* or *engrave:* and as it is always accompanied with לדוד le david, to *David,* it probably signifies that those Psalms were particularly attributed to David. Those, says Calmet, who wish to make it signify

an instrument of music only make use of this cloak to cover their idleness or ignorance.

8. AYELETH SHAHAR (אילת השחר) Psal. xxii. i. translated by the Septuagint *the reception,* or *succour, of the morning;* and by others *the kind of the morning;* appears to signify a band of either male or female musicians, or a Psalm that was sung at *break of day.*

9. SHOSHANNIM (ששנים) Psalm xliv. lx. lxix. lxxx. variously translated by the antients and moderns, seems to mean *rejoicings:* and as all the Psalms to which it is prefixed seem to be composed for festive occasions, particularly weddings, it is probable the word only points out the *rejoicings* used on such occasions.

10. MAHALATH (מחלת) title of Psalm liii. signifies a *dance,* such as was used at some religious assemblies. See Exod. xv. 20. Judg. xxi. 21. 1 Sam. xvii. 6.

11. JONATH ELEM RECHOKIM (יונת אלם רחקים) *the dumb dove in its banishment,* probably the *air* or *tune* to which some particular psalm or ode was sung.

12. HIGAION (הגיון) Psalm xcii. 4. from הגה *to murmur, growl,* or *coo,* was either a deep hollow bass in the music, or a mournful tune sung on occasions of public or private calamity. But, from its connexion in the above passage with several musical instruments, it may probably signify some kind of harp, or some mournful accompaniment in the voice like our *recitativo.*

13. MASCIL, (משכיל) occurs in the titles of Psalms

32d, 42d, 44th, 52d, 74th, 78th, and 142d. As it is evidently derived from the root שכל *to be wise, to behave wisely,* or *prudently,* it signifies simply *to give instruction.* The psalms to which it is prefixed are to be considered as peculiarly calculated to give instruction and direction in the most important matters which respect the well-being of the body and soul.

14. AL TASCHITH, (אל תשחת). This term literally means *destroy not;* and may signify either a deprecation of deserved punishment, or an exhortation to take care of and preserve in a particular manner those psalms to which it is prefixed. They are the four following:—57th, 58th, 59th, and 75th.

I am of Calmet's opinion that none of these signifies any musical instrument, unless the *higaion* mentioned under No. 12.

In the Pentateuch seven different kinds of musical instruments are mentioned, *viz.* the *kinoor,* or lyre, an instrument with three cords; the *huggab,* or mouth organ, composed of seven unequal pipes; the *tuph,* or tambour, the skin being extended only over one side of a broad hoop; the *machalat,* probably a sort of bagpipe; the *chazazeroth,* the long straight trumpets made by Moses in the wilderness; and the *schophar,* or trumpet. To these some add the *jubal,* or *jobel,* supposed to have been a sort of musical instrument made out of a *ram's horn:* but this is a mistake, for there is no proper evidence that there ever was such an instrument.[c]

[c] See the note at the end of Chap. XVI.

In the books of Kings, Chronicles, and the prophets, mention is made of NABELIM, *psalteries* or *harps;* MEZILOTHAIM, *cymbals;* MENANAIM, different kinds of *flutes;* and ZALZELIM, *cymbals,* according to some, and *sistrums* according to others. SHALISHIM, sonorous *trigons,* or *triangles,* and MEZILOTHAIM, a species of small *bells.*

In Daniel, chap. iii. 4. the following are mentioned—KARNA, the *cornet* or *horn;* MASHROKITA, the *flageolet;* KITHROS, the *cithara,* or *harp;* SABEKA, the *sackbut,* a species of cymbal; PESANTERIM, the *psaltery,* or a species of harp in form of an equilateral triangle, nearly the same as the nabla; SUMPHONIA, a *dulcimer,* or cymbal with four strings.

The GNASUR, or HASUR, (עשור) mentioned in the Psalms, appears to have been an instrument of ten strings, similar to or the same with the *cythara,* or harp. As the *nabla* or *kinoor* were the most common, a further description may be necessary.

NABLA or NEBEL (נבל), a stringed musical instrument, probably so called from its belly resembling a jug or flaggon, 2 Sam. vi. 5. Psal. xxxiii. 2. Athenæus says, "Ναβλα Φοινικων ειναι ευρημα, the nabla was invented by the Phœnicians," which he proves from these words of Sopater,

———στε του Σιδωνιου Ναβλα
Λαρυγγοφωνος εκκεχορδοται τυπος.

——— and the Sidonian nabla
Sonorous instrument, is not unstrung.

Ναβλα here seems undeclinable, like the Phœni-

cian and Syriac נבלא. *Heb.* נבל. Strabo, lib. x. p. 722. Edit. Amstel. acknowledges that the name is barbarous or foreign:—Των οργανων ενια βαρβαρως ονομασται, ναβλα και σαμβυκη η και βαρβιτος, και αλλα πλειω. "Some musical instruments have barbarous names, as the nabla and sambuké, the barbitos, the magadis, and several others." Josephus Ant. lib vii. cap. 12. § 3. describes it thus: Η δε ναβλα, δωδεκα φθογγους εχουσα τοις δακτυλιοις ΚΡΟΥΕΤΑΙ; "The nabla has twelve sounds, and is struck or played upon with the fingers." In playing, it was turned about with both hands. Thus Ovid, De Arte Amandi, lib. iii.

Disce etiam duplici genialia Nablia Palmâ
Vertere; conveniunt dulcibus illa modis.

Its name, like that of the Utricularis Tibia (Eng. bag-pipe,) is taken from its resemblance to a bottle or flaggon, Utris,) for thus also נבל signifies.

It began to be in use about the time of David. This may be gathered from its being mentioned by David in several places of the Psalms, and by the sacred writers who succeeded, but never once by those who preceded him. Hesychius says it was δυσηχον, a harsh sounding instrument; others, however, highly commend it. And in the Adulterer of Philomen, when one says that he knows not what the nabla is another replies, Ουκ οισθα Ναβλαν; εδεν εν οισθ' αγαθον. "Not know the nabla? Then thou knowest nought that is good." Thus Bochart, Vol. I. p. 728. And from the passage of Sopater there produced, from what Josephus says of the nabla, and from his joining it in the place above

cited with the Κινυρα, of which he says, Η μεν κινυρα, δεκα χορδαις εξημμενη, τυπτεται πληκτρω, that "it is furnished with ten strings, and played upon with a plectrum." From all this taken together, I say it is manifest that the nabla was a stringed instrument; and therefore not, as a very ingenious writer to whom I am very much obliged, has supposed, a kind of bag-pipe, such as Dr. Russell[a] informs us is still in use about Aleppo. From Psa. xxxiii. 2. cxliv. 9, the nabla appears, sometimes at least, to have had only ten strings. And the Targum, Syriac, Septuagint and Vulgate, in both passages agree in this explanation of the word עשור *Gnasur*, or *Hasur*.

The KINOOR (כנור) was a musical instrument of the stringed kind; a lute, harp, or the like, played on with the hand, according to 1 Sam. xvi. 23; though Josephus, Ant. lib. vii. cap. 12. § 3. Edit. Hudson, says that the *kinyra David*, made for the Levites, was furnished with ten strings, and played on with a plectrum. From this word no doubt are derived not only the Greek κινυρα, *a harp*, by which the Seventy very frequently render it, but also κινυρος and κινυρεσθαι, signifying *lamentation* or *moaning*. Whence, as Bochart, Vol. I. p. 729, has observed, it is probable that the Greeks used this instrument on mournful occasions; whereas, among the Hebrews, playing on the כנור *kinoor* was a sign of joy, as Gen. xxxi. 27. 2 Chron. xx. 27, 28. Job xxi. 12. Psal. cxliv. 2, 3. Hence, however, as he

[a] Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, p. 94.

further remarks, it will not follow that the Hebrew כנור *kinoor* and Grecian κινυρα were instruments of different kinds; since the same sort of instruments might affect the mind in different manners, according as it was differently played upon. See Isa. xvi. 11. and Calmet as above, and Parkhurst.

Effects the most astonishing and almost preternatural are attributed in the Scriptures to the Hebrew music. To produce these the poetic compositions must have been exquisitely grand, the instruments perfect in their kinds, and perfectly adapted to the effects they were intended to produce; and the musicians uncommonly skilful. Of their instruments we know little besides their *names*, and even the signification of these is by no means well ascertained. But much of their poetry remains, and is a standing monument of the high state of cultivation to which the most difficult of all sciences had at a very early period arrived; and among a people too, whom the proud and insolent Greeks affected to call *barbarians*.

Even an infidel, who is capable of examining the poetic compositions of the Hebrews in their original language, will allow that they possess all the characteristics of the most energetic, sublime, and affecting poetry. In sacred poetry, the inspired writers *alone* have succeeded: for it belongs to the Divine Spirit to describe the things of GOD in a suitable manner, and in appropriate language. Several eminent men have written upon this subject, and written well: but there is one point on which little has been said, *viz.* the combination of

sense and *sound* in various parts of the compositions of the Hebrew writers.

For full evidence of the exquisite art possessed by some of the prophets, in conveying the *sense* of their words by their *sounds,* I shall refer the learned reader, first to the *original* of David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 19—27. This lamentation, says Dr. Kennicott, is justly admired as a picture of distress the most tender and the most striking; unequally divided by grief into longer and shorter breaks, as nature could pour them forth from a mind interrupted by the alternate recurrence of the most lively images of *love* and *greatness.* His *reverence* for *Saul,* and his *love* for *Jonathan,* have their strongest colourings: but the *greatness* and *bravery* of those warriors come full upon him, and are expressed with peculiar energy.

Being himself a *warrior,* it is in that character he sees their greatest excellence; and, though his imagination hurry from one point of recollection to another, yet we hear him at first—at last—every where lamenting—*How are the* MIGHTY *fallen!* It is almost impossible to read the noble original without finding every word swollen with a sigh, or broken with a sob. A heart pregnant with distress, striving to utter expressions descriptive of its feelings, (which are repeatedly interrupted by an excess of grief) is most sensibly painted throughout the whole.

Even an English reader may be convinced of

this, from the following specimen, which includes only the three last hemistichs.

נפלאתה אהבתך לי מאהבת נשים
Niphleathah ahabtecha lee meahabath nashim.
Thy love to me was wonderful, beyond the love of women.

איך נפלו גברים
Eik napheloo gibboreem.
How are the MIGHTY fallen!

ויאבדו כלי מלחמה
Wayobedoo kelee milchamah.
And the weapons of war perished!

The Psalms afford several instances of this connexion of *sense* and *sound*. The following, from Psalm xviii. 15. is a fine specimen:

וברקים רב ויהמם
Oobrakkeem rabb Vayhummem.
And lightnings he multiplied, and confounded them:

in which Dr. Delaney has justly observed, the *rattling* and *pounding* of thunder are distinctly heard in the sounds of the original words.

We have another striking example in the 10th verse:

וירכב על כרוב ויעף
Wayircav hhal keroob waiyahoph.
He rode upon a cherub, and did fly:

וידא על כנפי רוח
Wayeda hhal kanphee rooach.
Yea, he flew on the wings of the wind!

How astonishingly are the *blowing* and *rushing* of the wind expressed in the last word of each hemistich! The clap of the wing also in the word כנפי *kanphee* may be distinctly heard. Could such a coincidence be the effect of accident!

Sternhold and Hopkins have succeeded in their version of this place, not only beyond all their other efforts, but also beyond every antient and modern poet on a similar subject. Their version conveys the true spirit of the original; and, by those who understand it, will be found to be surprisingly *literal*:—

"On cherub and on cherubim
Full royally he rode;
And on the wings of all the winds
Came flying all abroad!"

But the most complete and striking examples of the combination of sense and sound which I recollect to have met with in the Sacred Writings are the two following:—the first is taken from Psalm lxxxi. 14.

לו עמי שמע לי
Loo ghammee shomeagh lee
O that my people had hearkened unto me,

ישראל בדרכי יהלכו
Yisrael biderakee yehallekoo!
And Israel had walked in my ways!

The deep hollow sounds in these words interspersed and interrupted at proper distances, with strong gutturals, shew a mind so much penetrated with sorrow and distress, that every accent forcibly expresses the anguish of the heart; and the *sounds* as strongly as the *sense* unite in a last effort of sorrowful affectionate eloquence, to call back an ungrateful and rebellious, but tenderly beloved people, to a sense of their duty and interest.

The second is contained in Isa. xxiv. 16.

ויאמר רזי לי רזי לי

Wayomer razee lee, razee lee.

And I said, My leanness! my leanness!

אוי לי בגדים בגדו

Auee lee, bogedeem bagadoo,

Woe is me! the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously!

ובגד בגדים בגדו

Oobeged bogedeem, bagadoo.

Yea, the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously!

Were ever plaintive sobbings more forcibly expressed than in the two last hemistichs?

That the Greek and Latin poets were not insensible to the beauty and influence of this ornament of verse, when employed in describing such incidents as they wished to bring before their readers' eyes, their writings sufficiently testify. To produce a great effect, they often combined *sense* and *sound;* and thus in some sort gave their descriptions a body, and rendered them palpable. A few instances may not be unacceptable to those who admire the above extracts from the Hebrew poets.

Homer, describing the pace of the mules traversing the hilly country of the Troad, to bring wood from Mount Ida, to burn the body of Patroclus, contrives to put a set of words in one line, which admirably express the very sound of their feet, and their *tripping* motion through an *uneven* country:

Πολλα δ' αναντα καταντα παραντα τε δοχμια τ'ηλθον.

Iliad. lib. xxiii. ver. 16.

——— "much *uneven* space
They measured, *hill* and *dale*, right *onward* now,
And now *circuitous*." COWPER.

Whoever examines Gell's plates of the Troad will at once see, from the nature of the country, that Homer describes in this verse a tract of land which he had before his eyes. Virgil felt the beauty of this line, and has most happily transferred all its power and elegance into the following verse:

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

——— "the thundering *coursers bound*
Through clouds of dust, and *paw the trembling ground.*"
Æn. viii. ver. 596.

where the numbers of the verse perfectly express the *prancing* or *trotting* of the steeds.

The following line has been ever admired by all who have read it; and have ever witnessed the *rolling* of the waves toward the shore, and their consequent *dash* on the beach:

Βη δ' ακεων παρα θινα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης.
Silent, he paced by the *high swelling sea.*
Iliad, lib. i. ver. 32.

The sound of the two last words admirably expresses the *rolling swell* of the wave, and its *broken dash* upon the shore. I need not apprize the learned reader that the translation in all the above cases bears scarcely any resemblance to the original. This, however, is no fault of the version; for even the Greek itself would lie under the same difficulty in rendering a similar beauty from the English.

No. IV.

Supplement to Chap. XVII. concerning the Fasts of the Hindoos and Mohammedans.

Referred to in page 136.

AS the Hindoos and Mohammedans approach nearest in their religious austerities to the antient Hebrews, the following concise view of the fasts practised among them, taken from the best authorities, will not be considered an unprofitable digressiou in this place.

There are twelve kinds of fasts among the Hindoos.

In the first, the person neither eats nor drinks for a day and night. This fast is indispensable, and occurs *twenty-nine* times in the year.

In the second, the person fasts during the day, and eats at night.

In the third, the person eats nothing but fruits, and drinks milk or water.

In the fourth, he eats once during the day and night.

In the fifth, he eats one particular kind of food during the day and night, but as often as he pleases.

In the sixth, called *Chanderaym*, the person is to eat one mouthful only on the first day; two on the second; and thus continue increasing one

mouthful every day for a month, and then decreasing one mouthful every day till he leave off where he began.

In the seventh, the person neither eats nor drinks for *twelve* days. How such a fast can be supported I cannot tell. Though it be prescribed in their law, it is not likely that it is ever observed, at least rigidly.

The eighth lasts *twelve* days. The first three he eats a little once in the day; the next three the person eats only once in the night; the next three he eats nothing unless it be brought to him; and during the last three days he neither eats nor drinks.

The ninth lasts *fifteen* days. For three days and three nights the person eats only one handful at night; the next three days and nights he eats one handful if it be brought to him; if not, he takes nothing. He then eats nothing for three days and three nights. The three next days and nights he takes only a handful of warm water each day. The three next days and nights he takes only a handful of warm milk each day.

In the tenth, for three days and nights, the person neither eats nor drinks: he lights a fire and sits at a door where there enters a hot wind, which he draws in with his breath.

The eleventh lasts *fourteen* days. Three days and three nights the person eats nothing but leaves; three days and three nights nothing but the Indian fig; three days and three nights nothing but the seed of the lotus; three days and three nights

nothing but peepul leaves; three days and three nights the expressed juice of a particular kind of grass, called *doobah.*

The twelfth lasts a *week.* On the 1st day the person eats milk; on the 2d, milk curds; on the 3d, ghee, *i. e.* clarified butter; on the 4th, cow's urine; on the 5th, cow's dung; on the 6th, water; on the 7th, nothing: plays at no game; has no connexion with women; neither shaves nor anoints himself; and bestows alms each day.[a]

Mohammedan Fasts.

Fasting is considered by the *Mohammedans* as an essential part of piety. Their orthodox divines term it *The Gate of Religion.* With them it is of *two* kinds, *voluntary* and *incumbent;* and it is distinguished by the *Mosliman* doctors into three degrees: 1st, Abstinence from every kind of nourishment, or carnal indulgence. 2d, Restraining the various members from every thing which might excite sinful or corrupt desires. 3d, The abstracting the mind wholly from worldly cares, and fixing it exclusively upon GOD.

Their great annual fast is kept in the month *Ramzan,* beginning at the first of the new moon, and continuing until the appearance of the next; during which it is required to abstain from every

[a] Ayeen Akberry, Vol. III. p. 247—250.

kind of nourishment from day-break till after sunset of each day. From this observance none are excused but the sick, the aged, and *children*. But if the sick recover, they are required to make up for what they have lost, by fasting an equal number of days after their health is perfectly restored. This is properly the Mohammedan *Lent*. Any breach of the duty of fasting, especially in the month *Ramzan*, must be expiated by a donation of alms to the poor.

The *Nifl*, or *voluntary* fasts, are those not enjoined by the law, but which a man imposes on himself for some particular reason. They are often sufficiently severe. All fasting is considered in the light of making atonement for sin; the common sense of all nations agreeing in this, that sin requires an expiation: but the Christian religion alone shews the *true one*.[b]

[b] See Hedayah, Prel. Dis. p. 55.

No. V.

Of the Hebrew Talent, and how to reduce it into English Money.

Referred to in page 182.

The Reader will observe that all valuations of pure gold and silver, found in this work are expressed in, or referred to, our silver coin, as a standard; that 78·139534 shillings are the equivalent to one ounce of our gold coin; but that the equivalent to one ounce of pure gold is 81·904762 shillings.

It is with this latter number that all valuations of pure gold must be made; and with it those already made may be proved. As to *pure* gold, compared with *pure* silver, one ounce of gold is valued at sixteen of silver, that is, at sixteen crowns, or 80*s.* pure.

It must also be observed that the current value of our guinea was originally 21*s.* 6*d.* being then pure gold, which is valued at 4*l.* per ounce Troy, or 7200*l.* the talent.

But, to put a stop to our neighbours on the continent from conveying the coin out of the kingdom, Sir Isaac Newton, who was appointed director of the mint, reduced its value to 21*s.* sub-

stituting, at the same time, alloy for one-twelfth part of it; and so it is still continued.

I. To find the equivalent in British standard to an ounce Troy of pure gold, valued at 80*s.* and to a talent of the same which weighs 1800 ounces Troy.

The ounce is 480 grains; and the guinea weighs 129 grains, or 5 dwts. 9 grains.

1. As 129 *grains* : 21*s.* :: 480 *grains* : 78·139534*s.* equivalent, in our silver coin, to one ounce of standard gold.

2. As 78·139534 *standard* : 80 *pure* :: 80 *pure* : 81·904762, equivalent, in British standard, to one ounce of pure gold.

Or, As 21·5*s.* : 21*s.* :: 80*s.* : 78·139534*s.* This, multiplied by 1800, gives 140651·1612*s.* equivalent to one talent standard.

And, As 21 *standard* : 21·5 *pure* :: 80 *pure* : 81·904762 *standard.* This, multiplied by 1800, gives 147428·5716, equivalent to one talent pure.

II. To find the equivalent in British standard to a talent of pure silver, which is valued at 450*l.* or 5*s.* the ounce Troy.

The pound Troy is 240 dwts, and our silver coin has 18 dwts of alloy in the pound.

From 240 *dwts* take 18; there will remain 222 *dwts.* the pure silver in the pound.

Now, As 240 *dwts* : 222 *dwts.* :: 20 *dwts,* the weight of a crown piece : 18½ *dwts,* the weight of the pure silver in the crown.

Then, As 18·5 *dwts.* : 5*s.* :: 36000 *dwts.* (a ta-

lent) : 9729·729729729*s.* the equivalent, in our coin, to a talent of pure silver.

Example I. To find the equivalent in British standard to the 120 talents of gold, which the Queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon, 1 Kings x. 10.

147428·5716 equivalent to one talent of pure gold as found above.
120

17691428·592=884,571*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* equivalent to 120 talents.

Example II. To find the equivalent in British standard to King Solomon's 200 targets of beaten gold, each 600 shekels; and his 300 shields of beaten gold, each 300 shekels. 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16.

A talent is 3000 shekels; therefore, 600 shekels are *one-fifth*, and 300 are *one-tenth* of a talent.

5)147428·5716 equivalent to one talent.
29485·7143 equivalent to one target.
200
2,0)589714,2·86
£294,857 2*s.* 10¼*d.* equivalent to 200 targets.

One-tenth of a talent is 14742·85716 one shield.
300
2,0)442285,7·148
£221,142 17*s.* 1¼*d.* equiv. to 300 shields.

Example III. To find the equivalent in British standard to the million and ten thousand talents of silver mentioned in page 181 as prepared by David for the temple.

9729·729729729*s.* multiply by { 1,000,000, is 9729729729·729
10,000, is 97297297·29729
2,0)98270270 2,7·02629
£491,351,351. 7*s.* The equiv.

The second and fourth statings above are inverse, as they should be in proportioning quantity to quality.

Jewish Money, its Weight and Value, reduced to British Standard.

	oz.	dwt.	gr.	Pure £	s.	d.	Standard. £	s.	d.
Talent of gold, 3000 shekels	1800	0	0	7200	0	0	7371	8	6·859
Talent of silver, ditto	1800	0	0	450	0	0	486	9	8·7561
Maneh, or Mina, 60 shekels	36	0	0	9	0	0	9	14	7·135
Shekel of the sanctuary		12	=288		3	0		3	2·918
Bekah, *one-half* the shekel		6	=144		1	6		1	7·459
Gerah, *one-tenth* of the bekah		0	14·4		0	1·8		0	1·9459

Small Roman Money used by the Jews.

	d.	*q.*
Denarius	7	3
Sestertius, one-fourth of the denarius	1	3·75
Assa	0	3
Assarium	0	1·5
Quadrans	0	0·75
Mite	0	0·33

Jewish Liquid Measure, reduced to English Wine Measure.

	gal.	*pts.*	*sol. in.*
Chomer, or homer	75	5	7·625
Ephah, or bath, one-tenth of the homer	7	4	15·18
Seah, one-third of ephah	2	4	5·06
Hin, one-sixth of ephah	1	2	5·3
Cab, one-third of hin	0	3	10·468
Log, one-fourth of cab	0	½	9·8355

Jewish Corn Measure, reduced to English Ale Measure.

	pks.	*gal.*	*pts.*	*sol. in.*
Chomer, or coron,	32	0	1	18·969
Leteeh, one-half of the coron	16	0	0	27·109
Ephah, one-tenth of the coron	3	0	3	12·47
Seah, one-third of the ephah	1	0	1	4·153
Gomer, or omer	0	0	5	1·211
Cab	0	0	2·8	

Jewish Weights reduced to Troy weight.

	lbs.	*oz.*	*dwts.*	*grs.*
Shekel	0	0	9	2·6
Maneh sixty shekels	2	3	6	10·3
Talent fifty manehs	113	10	1	10·3

Jewish Measures of Length reduced to English Measures.

	feet	*inches.*
Digit	0	0·912
Palm, four digits	0	3·648
Span, three palms	0	10·944
Cubit, two spans	1	9·888
Fathom, four cubits	7	3·552
Ezekiel's reed, six cubits	10	11·328
Arabian pole, eight cubits	14	7·104
Schœnus, measuring line, eighty cubits	145	11·4
Stadium, four hundred cubits	729	7·2
Sabbath day's Journey 2000 cubits	3648	
Jewish mile, 4000 cubits, 1 mile 672 yards English	7296	
Parasang, 12000 cubits, three miles, equal to 4 miles 256 yards, English	21888	

Jewish Square Measures.

The square cubit was chiefly applied to the measuring of surfaces.

1. If the cubit of 1 foot 9·888 inches, which is in decimals 1·824 feet, be multiplied by itself, the product will be 3·326976, the square feet in a square cubit, which was the measure of the altar of incense set up by Moses.

2. The table of shew-bread was two cubits long, and 1 cubit broad; that is, twice 1·824, or 3·648 multiplied by 1·824; producing 6·653952 square feet.

3. A board of the tabernacle was ten cubits long, and one and a half broad; that is, ten times 1·824, multiplied by one and a half time 1·824; producing 49·90464 square feet.

4. The court of the tabernacle was 100 cubits long, and fifty broad; the product of which is 5000 square cubits, which multiplied into 3·326976, the product will be 16634·88 square feet. These, divided by 272·25, the square feet in a perch, give 61·1014 perches, or 1 rood 21·1014 perches, for the area of the court.

In measuring land the Jews used the schœnus of eighty cubits, the square of which is 6400 square cubits, and which they called an arura.

A part of an arura was valued according to the number of square cubits that it contained.

But my author quotes Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 168,

for another arura, which was used in Egypt, even before the time of Moses.

The length of that measuring line, he says, was 100 cubits; therefore, its square is 10,000 cubits. This multiplied into 3·326976 will produce 33269·76 square feet, which, divided by 272·25, (as above) gives 122·202 perches, that is, 3 roods 2·202 perches, for the area of the arura.

PART IV.

FARTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE

CUSTOMS, MANNERS, &c. OF THE ISRAELITES;

IN WHICH

A VARIETY OF SUBJECTS,

EITHER NOT TOUCHED BEFORE, OR BUT SLIGHTLY HANDLED, ARE CONSIDERED MORE AT LARGE.

CHAP. I.

Division of the Hebrews into Tribes and Families.

THE Hebrews were divided into twelve tribes, according to the number of the sons of Jacob. But GOD reserved to Himself the posterity of *Levi*, and consecrated them to the service of His altars. So, *that tribe* could not properly be reckoned among the twelve tribes: but then *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, the two sons of Joseph, made two different tribes, which thereby supplied its place. The tribe of *Levi* was divided into three families, which derived their names and origin from the three sons of Levi. From *Gershon* came the Gershonites; from *Kohath*, the Kohathites; from

Merari, the Merarites. Kohath, the second son of Levi, had Amram, the father of *Aaron* and *Moses*; the latter of which was the governor and lawgiver of the Hebrews, the former their high-priest. Aaron had four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. After the death of the two former, the priesthood remained with the two others; whose posterity David divided into twenty-four classes, who performed the offices of the priesthood weekly, in their turns.[a] Sixteen of these classes were in the family of Eleazar, whose names and order were as follow:— 1. Jehoiarib, 2. Jedaiah, 3. Harim, 4. Seorim, 5. Malchijah, 6. Mijamim, 7. Hakkoz, 8. Abijah, 9. Jeshuah, 10. Shecaiah, 11. Eliashib, 12. Jakim, 13. Huppah, 14. Jeshebeah, 15. Bilgah, 16. Immer. So that there were but eight in the family of Ithamar, *viz.* 17. Hezir, 18. Aphses, 19. Pethahiah, 20. Jehezekel,[b] 21. Jachin, 22. Gamul, 23. Delaiah, 24. Maaziah.

The other tribes were divided into different families, in the same manner, and their names were these:

1. The tribe of *Reuben* had four families; the Hanochites, the Palluites, the Hesronites, the Carmites.

2. The tribe of *Simeon* had five; the Nemuelites, the Jaminites, the Jachinites, the Zarhites, the Shaulites.

3. The tribe of *Gad* had seven; the Zephonites, the Haggites, the Shanites, the Oznites, the Erites, the Arodites, the Arelites.

[a] 1 Chron. xxiv. [b] Or, Ezechiel.

4. The tribe of *Judah* had five; the Shelanites, the Pharzites, the Zarhites, the Hesronites, the Hamulites.

5. The tribe of *Issachar* had four; the Tolaites, the Punites the Jashubites, the Shimronites.

6. The tribe of *Zebulun* had three; the Sardites, the Elonites, the Jahleelites.

7. The tribe of *Manasseh* had eight: the Machirites, the Gileadites, the Jeezerites, the Helekites, the Arielites, the Shechemites, the Shemiadites, the Hepherites.

8. The tribe of *Ephraim* had four: the Shuthalites, the Bachrites, the Tahanites, the Eranites.

9. The tribe of *Benjamin* had seven; the Belaites, the Ashbeelites, the Ahiramites, the Shuphamites, the Huphamites, the Ardites, the Naamites.

10. The tribe of *Dan* had but one; the Shuhamites.

11. The tribe of *Asher* had five; the Jimnites, the Jesuites, the Beriites, the Heberites, the Malchielites.

12. The tribe of *Naphtali* had four; the Jahzeelites, the Gunites, the Jezerites, the Shillemites.

Hitherto we have spoken only of the Hebrews by birth, who descended from Abraham, and belonged to one of the tribes; whence it was, that they were better esteemed among the Jews than those who had been born Gentiles, and had embraced Judaism. For thus we find St. Paul urging it, as a matter of merit among the Jews, that he was

born a Jew. *I was,* says he, *circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews: as touching the law, a Pharisee.*[c] The second sort of the Hebrews were such as were Gentiles by birth, but had embraced the Jewish religion.

None was excluded from receiving Judaism but *eunuchs.* All *strangers* were received into it, whenever they thought fit to submit to its laws, or at least to the principal of them; for these *proselytes* (that is to say, *strangers,*[d]) were of two sorts. Some were called *proselytes of habitation,*[e] others *proselytes of justice.* The former had only their dwelling or *habitation* among the Jews, and did not engage themselves to an entire observance of the law. But they were nevertheless obliged to keep the sabbath; and what the Talmudists call *the precepts of Noah,* that is, what GOD commanded *Noah* to observe, namely, not to worship idols, and to abstain from blood; together with some other commandments which He gave him, and of which we shall speak more particularly in another place. For the Jews were far from suffering the *strangers,* who dwelled among them, to live without laws. All which Maimonides explains in his Treatise of a Proselyte.[f] "What," says he, "is a proselyte of habitation? He is one who engages to renounce idolatry, and observe the commandments, which

[c] Phil. iii. 5. [d] Προσηλυτοι.

[e] Or, *proselytes of the gate,* because permitted to live within their gates. Prid. Con. Pt. ii. lib. 5.

[f] Chap. 2.

were given to the children of Noah; but neither is circumcised, nor baptized. He is called *a proselyte of habitation*, because we are permitted to give such a one an habitation among the children of Israel, and he is received as a religious Gentile." He adds, "Whoever engages to keep the commandments of Noah, and is exact in his observance of them, has a right to the rewards of a future state." And the Jews were forbidden to suffer any Gentile to live among them, who did not submit to the observance of these precepts; as we learn from the same author. "We are obliged," says he, "to kill all the Gentiles, who refuse to keep the commandments of Noah, if they are in our power. It is only to us, who are the inheritance of Jacob, and to those of any other nation who will become proselytes, that Moses has given the law. For it is said, There shall be no difference between the proselytes and you. And therefore, as to the law, let him embrace it that will; we force nobody to it: but as for the commandments of Noah Moses, our master, who was taught by GOD Himself, has commanded us to force all those who shall come into the world to observe them, and to kill all those who shall refuse to keep them.[s] He who receives them is called a *proselyte of habitation*; and must engage himself to do so, in the presence of three learned persons."

[s] Should the Jews ever get the pre-eminence in any nation, we see, by this honest confession of Rabbi Maimon, that the Gentiles, Christians, &c. under their government, must either turn Jews, or have their throats cut.

The second sort of converted Hebrews were called *proselytes of justice.* They were so called because they embraced the whole law of Moses, and engaged themselves to live holily and justly. And they therefore had the rank and privileges of natural Jews. And it is of them that we are to understand those words of our blessed Saviour in the Gospel, *Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte.*[h]

In order to become *a proselyte of justice* there were three ceremonies to be performed; the first of which was *circumcision.* The blood that was spilt in the performance of this, was called *the blood of the covenant;* and these new converts were thought to be *the children of it.* And as to the necessity of it, the commandment of GOD to Abraham is very express: *The uncircumcised man-child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people.*[i] Circumcision was the *seal,* which sealed the covenant, into which the proselyte entered with GOD, and the solemn profession he made of observing the law of Moses. Which made St. Paul say,[k] *I testify to every man that is circumcised,*[l] *that he is a debtor to the whole law.* And Maimonides[m] also teaches the same thing. "When a Gentile," says he, "has a mind to enter into the covenant, to

[h] Matt. xxiii. 15. [i] Gen. xvii. 14. [k] Gal. v. 3.

[l] Or, as the French has it, *every man that causes himself to be circumcised.*

[m] Ibid. ch. 1.

shelter himself under the wings of the majesty of GOD, and to submit to the law, he must be circumcised."

The second ceremony was *washing*, or *baptism*; which must have been performed in the presence of, at least, three Jews of distinction. At the time of the performance of it, the proselyte declared his abhorrence of his past life, and that it was neither ambition nor avarice, but a sincere love for the law of Moses, which prevailed on him to be baptized: and he was then likewise instructed in the most essential part of the law. He promised, at the same time, to lead a godly life, to worship the true GOD, and to keep His commandments. And hence the Christian church has borrowed those ceremonies, which she makes use of in receiving proselytes, whether Jews or Gentiles; for it is manifest that the institution of baptism by JESUS CHRIST, and the discipline of the primitive church in the administration of it, have a relation to this ceremony among the Jews.

The third ceremony to be performed was that of offering *sacrifice*. All these, except circumcision, were performed by the women as well as the men, who became proselytes. And as concerning those who had gone through all these ceremonies, it was a common opinion among the Jews, that they ought to be looked on as new-born infants. Maimonides says it in express terms:— "A Gentile," says he, "who is become a proselyte, and a slave who is set at liberty, are both as it were new-born babes: which is the reason why those

who before were their parents are now no longer so." Whence it is evident, that nothing could be more just than JESUS CHRIST's reproaching Nicodemus with his being *a master in Israel,* and yet being at the same time ignorant how a man could *be born a second time.*[n]

But, to be more particular, I cannot forbear relating here at large all that Maimonides says of the manner of their receiving proselytes. It will, I doubt not, be some pleasure to the reader to trace out in it the origin of Christian baptism, and of the antient ceremonies which the church observed in it. For they are all borrowed from the Jews; JESUS CHRIST and His apostles not having thought fit to abolish them, or to substitute new ones in their room.

"How," says he, "ought a proselyte now to be received? When any one offers himself; if, upon a strict enquiry, it appears that the motives to his conversion are pure, he shall be asked this question:—What have you seen in us, which inclines you to become a proselyte? Do not you know that the Israelites live now in sorrow and reproach, that they are exiles, are dispersed abroad, and are

[n] John iii. 16. But our blessed LORD takes this second birth in a much higher and more sublime sense than it was understood by the Jews in general. Hence he says, that a man must not only be born of *water*, but of the *Holy Spirit*; i. e. that his soul must be completely changed from sinfulness to holiness: the very thoughts of his heart being cleansed by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that he might perfectly love, and worthily magnify, his Maker.

laden every day with fresh miseries?" If he answers, "I know all this, and yet think myself unworthy of being received among them," he must be admitted. And then he shall be taught the principal articles of religion, the unity of GOD, and the prohibition of idolatry, in which he must be thoroughly instructed. And among the commandments of GOD, which are taught him, both some of the most and some of the least importance shall be mentioned, but briefly; to which shall be added the punishments annexed to the breach of these precepts. It shall be said to him, "Are you sensible that before you embrace our religion you may eat fat, and not observe the sabbath? And that if, after you are become a proselyte, you eat fat, you will be excommunicated; and, if you break the sabbath, stoned?" But nevertheless, these punishments are not to be mentioned to him, but with a great deal of prudence, lest the terrible idea they give him of religion should turn him from the right way. Men must be won over by gentle methods; they must, as the Scripture expresses it, be *drawn with the cords of a man, with bands of love.*[a]

"And as he must be instructed in the doctrine of punishments, so likewise in that of rewards. It shall be declared to him that the observance of the law will gain him an immortal life in the other world, and that none are truly wise and just in this but they who know the law and keep it. For it shall be added that a future life is reserved only for

[a] Hos. xi. 4.

the righteous, which are the Israelites; and that if they are unhappy in this world, this very thing shews that they will be eternally happy in the next. It is not necessary that they should enjoy the same happiness upon earth that other people do; their corrupt inclinations might lead them either into pride or error, and they might by that means lose the reward of the world to come. *Jeshurun*, says the Scripture, *waxed fat and kicked.*[p] So that God does not punish the Israelites with design to destroy them. No, they shall be preserved; and it is the Gentiles which shall be destroyed. It is proper to enlarge upon this subject, that his love and zeal may thereby be doubled.

"If he alter his resolution, and no longer desire to be a proselyte, he shall be left at his liberty. If he persevere, circumcision must not be deferred; and, if he have already been circumcised, the blood of the covenant must be drawn afresh from the wound. And then time shall be given him for his cure, after which he must be baptized.

"Three chosen men shall stand before him when he is in the water; and shall again propose to him some of the commandments of the law. If it be a woman, women shall put her into the water; the doctors shall instruct her while she is in it; and then they shall go out, and turn away their eyes from her while she comes out of it."

[p] Deut. xxxii. 15.

CHAP. II.

Names and Divisions of the Holy Land.

AS to names, the country of the Hebrews has had several. 1. It was first called the *Land of Canaan*, from Canaan the son of Ham, whose posterity possessed it. 2. It was afterwards called *Palestine*, from the people which the Hebrews called Philistines, and the Greeks and Romans (corruptly) *Palestines*, who inhabited the sea-coasts, and were first known to them. 3. And it likewise had the name of the *Land of Promise*, from the promise GOD gave Abraham of giving it to him; 4. that of the *Land of Israel*, from the Israelites having made themselves masters of it; 5. that of *Judea*, from the tribe of Judah, which was the most considerable of the twelve, and the only one that remained after the dispersion; 6, and lastly, the happiness it had, of being sanctified by the presence, actions, miracles, and death of JESUS CHRIST, has given it the name of *The Holy Land*, which it retains to this day.

As it has happened to other countries with respect to the inhabitants and their cities, so likewise to this. It has often changed its inhabitants and masters; several of its cities have been ruined, and several of them built anew; and it has been divided in several different manners, in the various

revolutions it has undergone. For it was differently divided, 1. By its antient inhabitants; 2. By Joshua; 3. By the Romans; 4. In the time of CHRIST; and, 5. By Herod.

But it is not so as to its rivers and mountains; they are neither of them subject to change. The *Jordan* is almost the only river in the Holy Land; the others are rather brooks, or rivulets. This river divides Judea; for it has its rise among the mountains of Libanus; and, after having run through the Sea of Galilee, loses itself in the *Dead Sea*, which is in the other extremity of the Land of Judah, towards the south. It took its name from the city of Dan, in whose neighbourhood it rises; for *Jordan*, or *Yarden*, is the same thing as if it was said *river of Dan*.[a] The Sea of Galilee, which Jordan runs through, is but a lake; but the Hebrews give the name of *sea* to any great collection of waters. The same may be observed of the Dead Sea: it is a great lake, which the Greeks call Asphaltitis, on account of the bitumen it abounds with; and the Jews call it the Dead Sea, because fish cannot live in it. It was in this place, which is now covered by the lake, that the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah stood. After *Jordan* are reckoned *Jarmach*, in the country of the Gergesenes, which rises among the mountains of Gilead; and *Hermion*, near Damascus, otherwise called *Amanach*, or *Abana*; to which are added *Pharphar*, which runs down from Mount Hermon; *Kishon*, which

[a] הירדן Ha Yarden, *The River of Dan*, or *Judgment*.

was in the tribes of Issachar and Zabulon; *Arnon*, which comes from the mountains of the same name, and runs into the Dead Sea; and *Jabok*, which falls into the Jordan.

This country has several mountains; the most famous of which are, *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* to the north; the mountains of Gilead, those of the Moabites, *Hermon* and *Arnon*, to the east; the mountains of the Desart to the south; and *Carmel*, the mountains of Ephraim, and the mountains of the Philistines, to the west. And there are likewise some in the middle of Judea, as *Tabor*, *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, *Sion*, *Moriah*, *Hebron*, and what the Gospel calls the Mountains of Judea. But, to return to the divisions before-mentioned,

I. When Abraham went into the Land of Canaan, it was inhabited by *eleven* sorts of people, who, as Moses tells us,[b] took their names from the eleven sons of Canaan. They were these:

1. The *Sidonians*, descended from Sidon. They possessed the cities of Sidon, Tyre, Jokneam, and Acon, since called Ptolemais.

2. The *Jebusites*, from Jebus their parent, since called the Philistines. Their cities were Lachish, Gath, Ekron, Ascalon, Azotus, Gerar, and Debir.

3. The *Amorites*, descended from Amor, who had the cities of Nabah, Heshbon, Bozrah, and Ramoth Gilead.

4. The *Girgashites*, from Girgas. They had the cities of Damascus, Maachathi, Geshur, Zobah, Teman, Ashteroth, and Edrei.

[b] Gen. x.

5. The *Hivites,* from Hevah. Their cities were Jerusalem, Jericho, Ai, Bethel, Gilead, Libnah, Makkedah, and Bezer.

6. The *Arkites,* descended from Arak; who had the cities of Esebon, Midian, and Petra.

7. The *Sinites,* who descended from Sin; and were masters of the cities of Admah, Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboim, and Zoar.

8. The *Arvadites,* from Arad; who possessed the cities of Arad, Jarmuth, Hebron, Adullam, and Eglon.

9. The *Zemarites,* from Zemar. In their territories were built Samaria, Tappuah, Tirzah, and Tanai.

10. The *Hamathites,* from Hamath; who had the cities of Shimron, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Hamath.

11. To which likewise are added the *Perizzites,* to whom belonged the cities of Amalek and Bozrah.

II. When the Israelites made themselves masters of the *Land of Canaan,* since from them called the *Land of Israel;* the most powerful people who inhabited it were the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Girgashites. It was from them that Joshua gained it by conquest; and he divided it into twelve parts, which the twelve tribes drew by lot. The tribe of Levi indeed possessed no lands; God assigned the Levites the tenths and first-fruits of the estates of their brethren: though nevertheless they had some cities which were dispersed among the other tribes, and were therefore

called *Levitical cities;* and some of them were cities of refuge for those who should have killed any one unawares. But though the tribe of Levi did not partake of the division of the land, and this therefore was only among eleven of the sons of Jacob, yet was the Land of Israel divided into twelve portions. There were, I say, twelve tribes, notwithstanding, who divided the Land of Canaan among them, inasmuch as the children of the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, made two different tribes. Those of Reuben, Gad, and a part of that of Manasseh, were placed beyond Jordan, towards Arabia and Syria: the rest settled on this side of it.

The most considerable change which took place in this country was that which happened when the ten tribes were driven from it, and carried into captivity by the Assyrians. The Cutheans, who were sent to possess their country, dwelt chiefly in the tribe of Ephraim, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. The tribe of Judah continued in captivity at Babylon seventy years; and the Greeks afterwards made themselves masters of the empire of the east; and some of them, who were kings of Syria, re-united the greatest part of the country which the tribes of Israel possessed to their crown; and by this means (the tribe of Judah remaining alone, after the others were dispersed,) the names which the different parts of the Land of Promise had received upon the division Joshua made of it among the twelve tribes, were changed long before the birth of JESUS CHRIST.

III. The Romans divided this country into *Pa-*

lestine and *Phœnicia*. The former contained the antient country of the Philistines; the latter all the maritime cities as far as Libanus, and made a part of the kingdom of Syria.

IV. In the time of JESUS CHRIST, the Land of Israel was divided into *Judea, Samaria, Galilee,* and *Idumea;* and there were then several Galilees, as we shall see presently.

Judea contained a part of the antient tribe of Judah, and those of Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon. Its breadth was from Jordan to the city of Joppa.

Idumea, which was south of Judea, between Arabia and Egypt, had been conquered by Hircanus: and this high priest commanded the inhabitants either to be circumcised, or to leave their country; upon which they chose to be circumcised, and from that time their country became a part of Judea; so that it is not to be wondered at, if St. Mark reckons the Idumeans among those who came to JESUS CHRIST.[a] The name of Idumea was at first given only to the country which was possessed by Esau, who in Hebrew is called Edom, that is, *red.* His descendants were at first called Edomites, and afterwards Idumeans. We know of no king of Idumea but Esau, whom the Greeks call Ἐρυθρος, that is to say, *red;* and from hence the Red Sea, or *Erithrea,* has its name; and not from any particular colour, either in its water or its sand.

Samaria was at first only the name of a city, but it became afterwards that of a province. It

[a] Mark iii. 8.

contained the tribe of Ephraim, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, which was on this side Jordan, so that it was to the north of Judea, and between the Great Sea, Galilee, and Jordan; and there was therefore no going from Galilee to Jerusalem, without passing through this province.[e] Sichem, called by the Hebrews Sichar, was its capital, and was situated between the mountains Gerizim and Ebal. The name of Sichar was a term of reproach, which the Jews gave this city in allusion to that passage of Isaiah, *Woe to the drunkards of Ephraim*:[f] for the Hebrew word the prophet here makes use of comes from *sachar*, which signifies *to get drunk*; and St. John therefore calls this city by the name the Jews used to do. Near it was Jacob's well.

Josephus distinguishes between *two* Galilees, the *Upper* and the *Lower*: they both join to Syria and Phœnicia to the west; Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as Jordan, to the south; the towns of Hippus and Gadara, and the territory of Gaulonitis, to the east; and Tyre and its territory to the north; so that Galilee contained the tribes of Issachar, Zabulon, Asher and Naphthali, except Paneadis, which took its name from the city of Paneas, formerly Dan, and since called Cesarea-Philippi, situated at the foot of Mount Libanus; and all this latter territory is out of Galilee. This province had the happiness to receive the light of the Gospel the first of any: it then contained a great number of very

[e] John iv. 4. [f] Isaiah xxviii. 1.

populous cities. Josephus, from whom we take this account, reckons up to the number of two hundred and four cities, or villages: the least of which had above fifteen thousand inhabitants!

The country that the tribes of Reuben and Gad possessed beyond Jordan was called *Perea*, which signifies *a distant province*, because it was *beyond* Jordan. Its length, according to Josephus,[a] was from the city of Macheron to that of Pella; and its breadth from Philadelphia, a country of the antient Moabites, to Jordan. Pella was to the north of it; Jordan to the west; the country of the Moabites to the south; and Arabia to the east. The country which extends towards Libanus northwards, and towards the mountains of Hermon eastwards near Damascus, was the portion of the half-tribe of Manasseh: but afterwards it comprehended Gaulonitis, so called from the city of Gaulon, (which Josephus states to have been two cities, the Upper and the Lower;[b]) Batanea, which was formerly the kingdom of Bashan; and Trachonitis, which took its name from the craggy mountains with which it abounded. Strabo says it touched upon Cœlosyria. To the north lay Auranitis, which took its name from the city of Auran, which was situated between Cesarea and Damascus. And near it was Iturea, which joined to Cœlosyria, beyond Mount Libanus. Pliny places Iturea in Cœlosyria itself; and Adricomius says Iturea begins at Jordan, and extends all along Libanus, as far as

[a] Wars of the Jews, Book iii. c. 3.

[b] Wars of the Jews, Book i. c. 1.

to the mountains of Tyre and Sidon towards the west. So that they must be mistaken who place Iturea in Perea. They found their opinion, indeed, upon what the Scripture tells us of the Itureans having assisted the tribes of Reuben and Gad: but it does not follow from thence that Iturea was in the middle of those tribes, or even in their neighbourhood. Perea was subject to Herod the Tetrarch; and the Gospel tells us that Iturea was a part of Philip's tetrarchy.[i]

But, besides these, there was yet another canton in Judea, which was called *Decapolis*, because it contained *ten cities*, whose inhabitants lived after the Grecian manner, and therefore Josephus calls them *Grecian cities*. Pliny reckons among the cities of Decapolis,—Damascus, Opoton, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis, Gadara, and Hippus; and Josephus tells us,[k] that Cæsar separated Gaza, Gadara, and Hippus, from the kingdom of Judea, and joined them to Syria. But those geographers who place Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Cesarea-Philippi, in Decapolis, are certainly mistaken; though it be true that some of those ten cities were round about the Sea of Tiberias and Jordan; and that Josephus therefore says, that Galilee was encompassed with strangers. Agreeably to which he says, in another place, that the Gentiles killed a great number of the Jews in the

[i] Luke iii. 1.

[k] Antiq. Book xvii. c. 11. sect. 4; and Wars of the Jews, Book ii. c. 3. sect. 6.

cities of Scythopolis, Gadara, and Hippus; and it is probably cities of this kind that the Gospel means by the name of *Galilee of the Gentiles.*

Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, according to Strabo, gave the name of Gadarenes to its territory, in like manner as that of Gergesenes came from the city of Gergesa. These two little countries were in the neighbourhood of each other; and it ought not therefore to be wondered at that, in the relation of the same miracle, St. Mark and St. Luke[l] should say, that JESUS CHRIST did it in the country of the Gadarenes, and St. Matthew[m] in that of the Gergesenes; nor is it any thing more strange that these people should keep swine, since they were Gentiles. And we find them likewise in the same relation of the Evangelists, a proof that Gadara and Gergesa were parts of Decapolis. For St. Mark says,[n] that the demoniac who was delivered from the unclean spirits, which JESUS CHRIST permitted to go into the herd of swine, published the miracles which JESUS CHRIST had wrought in his favour in Decapolis; whereas, St. Matthew and St. Luke[o] only say, that he published them *throughout the whole city,* that is, either Gadara or Gergesa.

These two cities were in the neighbourhood of a lake which was called *Gennesareth,* from the city of Chinnereth. This lake the book of Joshua[p] places in the tribe of Naphthali; and in Numbers[q] it is

[l] Mark v. 2. Luke viii. 26.
[m] Matt. viii. 28.
[n] Mark v. 20.
[o] Matt. viii. 33. Luke viii. 39.
[p] Josh. xii. 3.
[q] Numb. xxxiv. 11.

called the Sea of Chinnereth; for both this passage and that in Joshua are to be understood of this lake. Afterwards the name of Gennesareth was given both to the lake and the country round about it; which, as Josephus testifies,[r] was watered by a spring called Capernaum; whence without doubt the city so called had its name. The Sea of Gennesareth, as the Hebrews speak, was likewise called the Sea of Tiberias, from the city of that name which stood near it. Some have thought that the city of Tiberias was the antient Chinnereth; but this is a a mistake. Josephus expressly says, that Herod built it in a place where there was no city before. "Herod the Tetrarch," says he, "to testify his gratitude to Tiberius, who honoured him with his friendship, chose out an agreeable place upon the borders of the lake called *Gennesareth;* and there he built a city, which he called Tiberias."[s]

Cœlosyria is without the borders of Judea, but joins to them. One part of it is called *Abilene*, from the city Abila, its capital; which I observe, because this little province was a part of the kingdom of Herod the Great; and St. Luke,[t] speaking of the princes who governed at the time that St. John began to preach, mentions it. This king, under whom JESUS CHRIST was born, possessed Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Perea, Galilee, Paneadis, Gaulonites, Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Abilene.

[r] Wars of the Jews, Book iii. c. 10. sect. 8.

[s] Antiq. Book xviii. c. 2. sect. 3.

[t] Luke iii. 1.

V. When Herod died, he divided all his dominions among his three sons, Archelaus, Herod-Antipas, and Philip. He gave Archelaus the kingdom which contained Idumea, Judea, and Samaria. He gave Herod Galilee and Perea, under the name of a tetrarchy; which was a dignity that held the *fourth* place in the Roman empire, after emperors, pro-consuls, and kings. And Phillip had Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, Paneadis, with the same title. This is Josephus's account of it: but St. Luke makes Iturea a part of Philip's tetrarchy. Perhaps Josephus confounds Iturea and Auranitis under the general name of Paneadis. Herod likewise gave Salome his sister the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phazealis.

As soon as Herod was dead, Archelaus was proclaimed king: and it was probably the fear that the new king was of the same opinion, with respect to the child JESUS, as his father had been, which made Joseph and Mary retire to Nazareth, upon their return from Egypt.[a]

[a] Matt. ii. 22, 23.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Ways of measuring Time among the Hebrews:—their Hours, Days, Weeks, Months, Years, and Jubilee.

GOD, who formed the republic of the Hebrews, appointed certain fixed and regular times for the performance of things, without which all would necessarily have run into disorder and confusion. And this appointment was the more necessary, in that he prescribed the performance of certain sacrifices and festivals; both which he fixed to certain days. But it would be very difficult to form a clear notion of them, if we knew not the manner in which the Hebrews regulated and measured time. For though all people make use of almost the same terms, yet these terms have very different significations; so that our hours, days, months, and years, are very different from those of the Hebrews; and we shall therefore in this Chapter speak, *first*, of days; *secondly*, of weeks; *thirdly*, of months; *fourthly*, of years.

First, of DAYS. *Time* is the measure of the duration of things; which duration we judge of by the relation it bears to the course of the planets; that is, we say a thing has had a longer or shorter duration, in proportion as certain planets have

made more or fewer revolutions during its subsistence. The time in which the earth revolves round its own axis from west to east is termed a *day*. But some begin the day at noon, others at midnight; some at sun-rising, and others at sun-set. The Hebrews follow this last method; that is to say, with them the day begins at sun-set, and ends the next day at the same time.[a] Whence it is that we read in the Gospels, that the sick were not brought out to JESUS CHRIST, on the Sabbath-days, till after sun-set;[b] which was because the Sabbath was then ended; and the Jews, who were scrupulously exact in observing it, were no longer afraid of any violation of it.

And it was likewise customary with the Hebrews to express a whole day by the terms, *the evening and the morning*;[c] or by these, *the night and the day*: which the Greeks express by their *nuchthemeron*, and which as well signifies any particular *part* of the day or night as the whole of it. And this is the reason why a thing that has lasted two nights and one whole day, and a part only of the preceding and following days, is said by the Hebrews to have lasted *three days and three nights*.[d]

It is with *time* as with *places*, with respect to its division: it is purely arbitrary. Formerly the He-

[a] Exod. xii. 18. Lev. xxiii. 32. From which last text it is evident that the sabbath began at the evening or sun-set of the day we term *Friday*, and ended at the same time on the following day.

[b] Matt. viii. 16. Mark i. 32.

[c] Gen. i. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31. [d] Matt. xii. 40.

brews and Greeks divided the day only according to the *three* sensible differences of the sun, when it *rises*, when it is at the *highest* point of elevation above the horizon, and when it *sets*; that is, they divided the day into morning, noon, and night. And these are the only parts of a day which we find mentioned in the Old Testament; the day not being yet divided into twenty-four hours. Since that, the Jews and Romans divided the day, that is, the space between the rising and setting of the sun, into four parts, consisting each of three hours. But these hours were different from ours in this, that ours are always equal, being always the four and twentieth part of the day; whereas with them the hour was a twelfth part of the time which the sun continues above the horizon. And as this time is longer in summer than in winter, their summer hours must therefore be longer than their winter ones. The *first hour* began at sun-rising, *noon* was the sixth, and the *twelfth* ended at sun-set. The *third* hour divided the space between sun-rising and noon; the *ninth* divided that which was between noon and sun-set. And it is with relation to this division of the day that JESUS CHRIST says in the Gospel, *Are there not twelve hours in the day?*[a]

The Hebrews likewise distinguished between *two evenings*. The first began at noon, when the sun begins to decline, and reached to its setting; the second began at that setting; and they call the

[a] John xi. 9.

space of time between these two, that is, from noon to sun-set,[f] *been haarabeem*, that is, *between the two evenings*.[g]

The *night* was likewise divided by the Hebrews into *four* parts. These were called *watches*, and lasted each three hours. The *first* is called by Jeremiah *the beginning of the watches*;[h] the *second* is called in the book of Judges *the middle watch*,[i] because it lasted till the middle of the night. The beginning of the *third* watch was at midnight, and it lasted till three in the morning; and the *fourth*[j] was called *the morning watch*.[k] The first of these four parts of the night began at sun-set, and lasted till nine at night, according to our way of reckoning; the second lasted till midnight; the third till three in the morning; and the fourth ended at sun-rising. The Scripture sometimes gives them other names: it calls the first *the evening*, the second *midnight*, the third *the cock crowing*, and the fourth *the morning*.[l]

Secondly, The Hebrews, like us, make their week to consist of seven days, six of which are appointed for labour: but they were not suffered to do any work on the seventh day, which was

[f] Or rather, *the ninth hour*, which is the middle point between them, is what they called *between the evenings*. Lamy de Tabern. lib. 7. c. 7. § 1.

[g] Exod. xii. 6. בין הערבים *been haarabeem*, improperly translated *in the evening*, in our English Bibles.

[h] Lam. ii. 19.

[i] Judg. vii. 19.

[j] Matt. xiv. 25.

[k] Exod. xiv. 24.

[l] Mark xiii. 35.

therefore called *the sabbath*, that is, *a day of rest.*

The observation of the *sabbath* began with the world. GOD, after He had employed six days in making the universe out of nothing, *rested* the seventh day; and therefore appointed it to be *a day of rest.*[m] But this term *sabbath* is likewise sometimes taken for the whole week. And from hence it is, that the Pharisee, when he would express his fasting twice in a week, says, that *he fasted twice every sabbath.*[n]

The *days* of the week have no other names but those of their order, the first, second, third, &c. from the sabbath; and therefore, as the Hebrews express *one* and *the first* by the same word, *una sabbati* is with them the first day of the week. But nevertheless, the Hellenist Jews have a particular name for the sixth day, that is, for the vigil of the sabbath; and call it, *paraskeue*, that is, *the preparation.*[o]

But, besides this *week of days*, the Hebrews had another week, which consisted of *seven years*; the last of which was a year of rest, and was called *the sabbatical year.* The earth rested on this year, and no one was suffered to cultivate it. And at the end of *seven weeks of years*, that is, after forty-nine years, the forty-ninth year was called *the year of jubilee.* Some think it was the fiftieth year, but they are mistaken. It is true that,

[m] Gen. ii. 2, 3. [n] Luke xviii. 12. νηστευω δις τε σαββατε.
[o] Mark xv. 42. Παρασκευη, ο εστι προσαββατον.

according to the common manner of speaking in the Scripture, the year of *jubilee* is the fiftieth year: as the *sabbath-day* is called the *eighth day*, that is, reckoning from one sabbath to another, inclusively of both. And in the same manner the *Olympiads*, which contained the space of four years, are called *quinquennium, the space of five years;* because by one Olympiad was ordinarily understood the space contained between the two Olympiads, that with which it began, and that with which it ended, reckoning the beginning of the latter as included in the former.

Thirdly. It is certain that at first the months were regulated by the *moon;* because the intervals of time are most easily distinguished by the course of this planet. When it is before the sun, it is as it were swallowed up in its rays: but as soon as it begins to separate from it, its crescent begins to shew itself, and increases insensibly, till at last its whole disk becomes luminous, and then it is full; after which its light diminishes, and returns through the same phases to its first crescent, and then it re-enters the rays of the sun.

And as the *moon* regulates the *months*, so does the *sun* the *year;* and the division which we make of the year into twelve months has no relation to the motion of the moon. But it was not so with the Hebrews: their months are *lunar;* and their name sufficiently shews it. They call them *yarchin*, which comes from *yarac*, which signifies *the moon*. It is disputed, whether the antediluvian months were not rather regulated by the sun; that is,

whether they were not all equal, so that each contained the twelfth part of a year: but learned men are agreed, that from the time of Moses the Jewish months have been lunar. They do not reckon the beginning of them from the time that the moon joins the sun, because that planet then disappears; but they begin it, at her first *phasis*, as soon as upon her separation from the sun, she first shews herself in the west, after sun-set. And for this reason they call the beginning of the month *the new moon;* though the Latin interpreter, to accommodate himself to the Roman style, calls it *the calends.*[p] The moment in which this conjunction between the sun and moon is made can only be known by an astronomical calculation, because she does not then appear; and because the Hebrews were little skilled in this science, especially at the first forming of their republic, God therefore commanded them to begin their months at the first *phasis*, or first appearance of the moon, which required no learning to discover it. And because this first appearance of the moon was of importance in their religion, God having commanded that the *new moon* should be a festival, and that they should offer a particular sacrifice to Him on that day;[q] it cannot therefore be improper to give some account here of the care the Hebrews took to discover this *new moon.*

[p] Numb. x. 10. *Siquando habebitis epulum et dies festos et calendas, &c.* See the *Vulgate.*

[q] Numb. xxviii. 11.

And in the first place, this was an affair in which the great Sanhedrin was concerned: there were always some of that body who applied themselves to astronomy, and the different *phases* of the moon were likewise painted upon the hall in which the Sanhedrin assembled. And in the second place, it belonged to them to choose men of the strictest probity, who were sent to the tops of the neighbouring mountains at the time of the conjunction; and who no sooner perceived the *new moon*, than they came with all speed, even on the sabbath-day itself, to acquaint the Sanhedrin with it. It was the business of that council to examine whether the moon had appeared, and to declare it; which was done by pronouncing these words, *The feast of the new moon, The feast of the new moon;* and all the people were informed of it by the sound of trumpets. To which ceremony David alludes, when he says, *Blow the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed, on our solemn feast-day.*[a] The air is so serene in Judea that it seldom happened that the clouds hid the moon: but when it did so happen, the error it occasioned was immediately rectified, and not suffered to pass into the next month. The decrees of the Sanhedrin on this as well as on other occasions, were so revered, that the Jews say they ought to be obeyed, even when they are mistaken.

From what has been said of the course of the moon, it appears that there are *two sorts* of months;

[a] Psalm lxxxi. 3.

the one, which is regulated by the circle the moon describes, and takes up twenty-seven days, seven hours, and some minutes, and is called the *periodical* month; and the other, which is measured by the space between two conjunctions of the moon with the sun, which is called the *synodical* month, and consists of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, forty-four minutes, and some seconds. This last is the most popular, and only one in use; because the *phases* of the moon are most proper to distinguish the beginning, middle, and end of it. The hours which exceed twenty-nine days make the months alternately one of twenty-nine days, and one of thirty. Formerly the Sanhedrin settled the number of days in each month; but now the Jews follow the common calculation, and their months are one of nine and twenty days and another of thirty.

Fourthly, Nothing now remains upon this subject, but to speak of the Jewish *year*; concerning which I shall not enter into the dispute whether they used the *solar* or the *lunar* one, because it is certain that they were both in use among them. I only observe that they took a very particular care that the first month of their sacred year, that is, of the year whereby their festivals and religion were regulated, did never expire before the equinox; and that, without this precaution they would have solemnized the same festivals twice in the same solar year. So that the equinox was a fixed point, which the Jews made use of to regulate their years by; and they did it in this manner;

The two equinoxes began each a different year. The new moon which followed the autumnal equinox, after the fruits were gathered in, began the *civil year*, the common opinion concerning which is, that the world was created in this season, and this was formerly the first month in the Jewish year. But after the Jews came out of Egypt Moses, to preserve the memory of their deliverance, commanded that the month in which that deliverance was wrought (which was in the time when the earth opens her bosom, and all things begin to bud,) should have the first rank; and by this means the vernal equinox began a second year, which was called *the sacred*, or *ecclesiastical* year. But though these years have different beginnings, yet they both consist of twelve months, which are according to their order, called the first, second, third, &c. And formerly there was none of them had any particular name, but the two equinoctial ones; and they were called, the vernal one, *Abib*, which signifies *a green ear of corn*; and the autumnal one, *Ethanim*. But about the time of the captivity each month had a particular name. The names were these:—the first month, formerly called *Abib*, was called *Nisan*; the second, *Iyar*; the third, *Sivan*; the fourth, *Tamuz*; the fifth, *Ab*; the sixth, *Elul*; the seventh, *Tisri*; the eighth, *Marchesvan*; the ninth, *Cisleu*; the tenth, *Tebeth*; the eleventh, *Shebat*; the twelfth, *Adar*. Nevertheless, there were some years in which they added a thirteenth month, which was called *Veadar*, or *the second Adar*. Nor were the planets only

made use of to distinguish time; it was likewise distinguished by the different seasons which succeeded one another, as well as by them. After the earth has closed up her bosom in the *winter*, she opens it in the *spring*, and brings forth herbs; and then during the *summer* the sun warms it, thereby to ripen the corn and fruits, that they may be gathered in before the return of the *winter*. Which difference of the seasons arises from the sun's nearness to, or distance from our tropic, according to which it continues more or less time above the horizon.

But, that all this may be the better understood, it is necessary that we briefly explain the first principles of the sphere. Between the poles of the world the astronomers have feigned a circle, which cuts the sphere into two equal parts, and to which they give the name of the *equinoctial*; and at a certain distance from this they have made another line on each side of it, which they call the *tropics*; to which they add a fourth, which they draw from one of these tropics to the other, and which cuts the *equinoctial* obliquely in two opposite points; and this they call the *zodiac*. And upon this *zodiac* they have marked out four principal points; two in the places where it touches the *tropics*, and the other two in its sections of the *equinoctial*; and by this means they explain the length of the year, the difference of the seasons, and the inequality of days and nights. For the year is nothing else but the space of time which the sun takes up in running through the *zodiac*. When it is at the points

which cut the *equinoctial,* the days and nights are equal, and we then have *spring* or *autumn.* When it advances towards our pole, and comes to our *tropic,* we then have *summer;* and when it returns back, and repassing the *equinoctial,* otherwise called *the line,* comes to the other *tropic,* we then have *winter.* Of these four points, the two which touch the *tropics* are called *solstices,* and those which cut the *equinoctial* are called *equinoxes.*

The antient astronomers thought that the sun took up three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours: which six hours they joined together every fourth year, and making a day of them, inserted it in the month of February. And the first day of the month was then by the Romans called *the calends;* and they reckoning backwards, into the days of the preceding month, called them the *first, second, third,* &c. *of the calends.* And this additional day being made *the sixth of the calends of March,* and they reckoning on these years two sixth days of these *calends,* this was the reason why the years in which these additional days were inserted were called *bissextile.* So that every four years the month of *February,* which ordinarily consisted of twenty-eight days, had a day added to it, and was made to consist of twenty-nine. But the astronomers of latter ages having made more exact observations, have found that the year was not so long by eleven minutes: a difference which, how inconsiderable soever it may appear, did yet introduce a confusion in the seasons of the year in a succession of several ages. So that the *vernal*

equinox, which, at the time of the council of Nice, fell on the twentieth or twenty-first day of March, was found to fall, in the sixteenth century, on the tenth or eleventh. For, the reason why the *equinox* at any time advances or goes back a day is the difference between the *bissextile* and the common year. And in order therefore to put a stop to this disorder, which in time would have thrown back the month of *April*, in which nature awakes and begins to dress herself in her vernal ornaments, into the midst of winter, the calendar was reformed about the end of the sixteenth century;[r] and, by retrenching ten days, the *equinoxes* were brought back to the same points they were at, at the council of Nice. And they have likewise retrenched one *bissextile* every hundred years (which nevertheless continues to be ordinarily placed every fourth year as before) because that, in the space of four centuries, the eleven minutes every year (as above mentioned) are so far from making four complete days that they make but little more than three; and by this means the points of the *equinoxes* are so fixed for the future that they can never again vary. The reader I hope will pardon this digression which I make; because, doubtless, it may be of some assistance to those who have not thoroughly studied these matters.

Let us now see by what means the Jews regulated their year so exactly, that its first month

[r] This was done in the year 1582, during the pontificate of Gregory XI. therefore called the *Gregorian*, or *New Style*.

always came in the spring. There were two reasons that engaged them to be extremely exact in this matter; the one of which was, that the law obliged them to offer up to GOD a sheaf of ripe barley, or at least of such as was pretty nearly ripe, in this first month: and the other was, that the passover, which fell on the fourteenth day of this month, could not be celebrated without offering up a vast number of lambs, which it would have been impossible to have had in winter. And it was therefore necessary that this first month, in which the feast of the passover was celebrated, should not be entirely passed before the *vernal equinox*, and that it should always fall in the same season of the year.

In the mean time, *twelve lunar* months make but *three hundred and fifty-four days, eight hours, forty-nine minutes*, and some *seconds*. And, consequently, this year must be shorter than the solar one by *ten days, twenty-one hours*, and some *seconds*. But it has been already said, that the Jews regulated their months by the *phases* of the moon, and not by any astronomical calculations. And when, therefore, their twelfth month was ended, and they found that their spring was not yet come, the next new moon was not made to belong to the first month, but to a thirteenth which they inserted, and therefore called *the intercalary month*. And this they did so exactly, that the full of the moon of the month *Nisan* never came before the *equinox*, that is, before the day when the sun, entering the first degree of *Aries*, makes the days and nights equal.

But that I may give all the necessary light that is wanting in this affair, I shall observe that the Jews have four sorts of years; or, rather, that each year has four beginnings. That of the *civil year* was in *Tisri;* that of the *sacred year,* in the month *Nisan;* that of *the tithe of the cattle,* in the month *Elul,* that is to say, according to the Rabbins, that they began from this month to take an account of all the cattle which were born, that they might offer the tithe of them to God;[1] and, lastly, that of *trees,* which was on the first, or fifteenth of the month *Shebat.* For the same Rabbins likewise say, that the law having commanded that the fruit of a tree newly planted should not be eaten of till after three years,[2] because the tree was till that time thought unclean; it is from the last mentioned month that they began to reckon this sort of year.

What I have said concerning these four distinctions relates only to the common year of the Jews, which, as has been said, consisted of twelve or thirteen lunar months. But, besides this year, they had a second, (as has also been already observed) which consisted of *seven years,* and was called *sabbatical.* On this year the Jews were not permitted to cultivate the earth. They neither plowed nor sowed, nor pruned their vines; and if the earth brought forth any thing of its own accord, these spontaneous fruits did not belong to the master of the ground, but were common to all, and

[1] Lev. xxvii. 32. [2] Lev. xix. 23.

every man might gather them. So that the Jews were obliged during the six years, and more especially in the last of them, wherein they cultivated the earth, to lay up provisions enough to last from the end of the sixth year to the ninth, in which was their first harvest after the *sabbatical year.*[u]

And as seven common years made the *sabbatical* year; so did seven *sabbatical* years make a third sort of year among them, which was called *the year of jubilee.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the Jewish Sacrifices:—their different kinds, and their different Ceremonies:—and of their Offerings, Gifts, First-fruits, and Tenths.

SACRIFICING is the offering up to GOD a living animal, whose blood is shed in adoration of His majesty, and in order to make an atonement to His justice, for sin. All the different religions in the world agree in this point, and have had the same ideas of sacrifice; which uniformity of opinion is very surprising. From whence could it be that all people should thus universally agree that the blood of an animal has these two great properties?

[u] Lev. xxv. 1—7.

or how could it come to pass that the use of sacrifices should thus universally prevail among men? It is, indeed, commonly said that this was a fond conceit which owes its rise to the barbarity of the Gentiles; and some think, that as to the Jews, they borrowed this custom from the Egyptians, and that it pleased GOD to leave them to the worship they had seen in Egypt, He being content with barely reforming it. But can it be believed that GOD would borrow the manner of His worship from a people who were superstitious, and at enmity with Him? No; the origin of sacrifices is to be dated much higher. It is derived from the patriarchs,[a] from Abel, from Noah, and from Abraham, who all offered sacrifices, which the Scripture testifies were acceptable to GOD.

It may be said, that all people had this idea of a sacrifice: they all pretended to substitute the soul of the beast, which is the blood, in room of the criminal soul of the sinner. "The law of sacrifices, (says Eusebius,[b]) manifestly shews it; for it commands all those who offer sacrifices to put their hand upon the heads of the victims: and when they lead the animal to the priest, they lead it by the head, as it were to substitute it thereby in the room of their own." And upon this is founded the law which forbids the eating of blood; which

[a] Rather from God Himself, who clothed Adam and Eve with the skins of beasts, which were most probably slain in sacrifice. *Gen.* iii. 21. *De Tab.* lib. 3. c. 7. § 1.

[b] Demonst. Evang. lib. c. 10.

GOD Himself explains very clearly in the reason He gives for this prohibition: *For,* (says He,) *the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.*[c] And if then it be true that GOD Himself commanded the patriarchs to offer sacrifices to Him, and if He looked on the blood that was shed in them as the essence of the sacrifice,—who can doubt that this was done with a view to the blood of JESUS CHRIST, which was one day to be shed for the redemption of the universe? Adam was no sooner fallen into sin, but GOD promised him One who should make an atonement for his sin; and as this atonement must be made by the blood of JESUS CHRIST, it pleased Him that the patriarchs, and afterwards His own people, should give types of this great Sacrifice in those of their victims; and from hence they drew all their virtue. "Whilst men (says the same Eusebius) had no victim that was more excellent, more precious, and more worthy of GOD, animals became the price and ransom of their souls. And their substituting these animals in their own room bore indeed some affinity to their suffering themselves; to which sense it is, that all these antient worshippers and friends of GOD made use of them. The Holy Spirit had taught them, that there should one day come a Victim more venerable, more holy, and more worthy of GOD. He had likewise

[c] Lev. xvii. 1.

instructed them how to point Him out to the world by types and shadows. And thus they became prophets, and were not ignorant of their having been chosen out to represent to mankind the things which GOD resolved one day to accomplish."

So that the first thing we must suppose, in order to explain the *sacrifices* of the antient law, is, that they were established only, that they might typify that sacrifice which JESUS CHRIST was to offer up. Unless we are prepossessed with this truth, we can look on the tabernacle and temple of Jerusalem only as slaughter houses, whose victims, blood, and fat, are more proper to inspire disgust than religion. And GOD Himself testifies the distaste He had for this immolation of animals, as soon as the Jews came to consider and practise it, without a view to JESUS CHRIST. *To what purpose* (says He, in Isaiah,[4]) *is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.* But how then could GOD reject the sacrifices which He had Himself commanded? Could that which pleased Him at one time displease Him at another? No; we cannot charge Him with such inconsistency. But we see, by His reproaches, that when He commanded the sacrifices of the antient law, He did it not out of any desire *to drink the blood of goats, or eat the flesh of bulls,* as David speaks,[5] but only to typify thereby the

[4] Isaiah i. 11. [5] Psalm l. 13.

great and precious sacrifice which His Son should one day offer up: and that, as soon as these sacrifices ceased to be animated by this spirit, (as those did which the carnal Jews offered) they became insupportable to Him.

The end of all religion is *sacrifice:* and there was never any religion without it. As to that of animals, I shall speak of it only so far as is necessary to render those parts of Scripture, where they are mentioned, intelligible; and shall therefore here confine myself to the explaining, 1. What these antient sacrifices were. 2. How many sorts of animals were used in them. 3. What the manner of offering them was. 4. What ceremonies attended it. 5. Who was the minister. 6. The place. 7. The time for them. 8. How many sorts of them there were. And, 9. What was the manner of partaking of them. All which I shall endeavour to do in a very few words.

1. Sacrificing is the offering up an animal to God, whereby His Supreme Majesty is acknowledged, sin expiated, and the Divine Justice rendered propitious. Man by sin merited death; and, in order therefore to satisfy in some measure the demands of God's justice, He substituted animals in his own room; whose blood, nevertheless, would have no efficacy in blotting out sin, were it not that it was a type of the precious blood which Jesus Christ has since poured out for us on the cross, and by which He has reconciled us to His Father. So that, by the *death* which the victims suffered, and by the *fire* which consumed them,

were represented to sinners the two punishments which sin had deserved, namely, *death* and *eternal fire*; and sacrifices were at the same time both marks of repentance, and pledges of a reconciliation.

2. There were but *five* sorts of animals, which could be offered up in sacrifice; and these were *oxen, sheep, goats, turtle doves,* and *pigeons*; which are indeed the most innocent, the most common, and the most proper animals in the world, for the nourishment of men. And among these great care was taken in the choice of such as were designed for victims; for the least defect that could be discovered in them made them unworthy of GOD. *If the beast be blind, or broken, or maimed, or having a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto the LORD, nor make an offering by fire of them upon the altar unto the LORD.*[r] Maimonides, in his treatise on this subject,[s] gives us a long enumeration of all the defects which pollute an animal. He reckons up *fifty* which are common to beasts and men, and *three and twenty* which are peculiar to beasts only; and gives a sort of anatomical account of the parts in which they are found. And what then is this great purity which GOD required in the choice of His victims, but another proof that they were only designed to be the figures of JESUS CHRIST, whose innocence was to be perfect, and the holiness of His sacrifice infinite.

[r] Lev. xxii. 22. [s] De Ratione Sacrif.

3. He, who offered sacrifice, led up the victim before the altar; laid both his hands, according to Maimonides,[h] but only one, according to other Rabbins, and see the Scripture upon the head of it,[i] *upon which he leaned with all his strength;* and, while the sacrifice was offering up, said some particular prayers. If several offered the same victim, they put their hands upon his head one after another. Which imposition of hands upon the animal, which they were just going to sacrifice, was to shew, that they loaded him with their iniquities, and that they had deserved the death which he was going to suffer. And hereby the victims of the Old Testament were again the types of JESUS CHRIST, upon whom was laid the iniquities of mankind;[k] and they were likewise the symbols of repentance. For which reason, Maimonides adds,[l] concerning the sin-offering, that if he who offered it did not repent, and make a public confession of his sins, he was not cleansed by it.

4. The manner of killing the animal was this. They cut through the throat and windpipe at one stroke: and they catched the blood in a bason which they kept perpetually stirring about, lest it should coagulate before it had been sprinkled upon the vail, or upon the altar, or other things, according to the nature of the sacrifice.[m] What blood remained after these sprinklings was poured

[h] De Ratione Sacrif. c. iii. n. 13.
[i] Lev. i. 4.
[k] Isai. liii. 6.
[l] De Rat. Sac. c. 3.
[m] Lev. iv. 5—7.

out at the foot of the altar, either all at once, or at different times, according to the kind of sacrifice that was offered. There was round the altar a sort of trench, into which the blood fell, and from whence it was conveyed, by subterraneous channels, into the brook Cedron; and this altar, which was raised very high, was a representation of the cross, to which JESUS CHRIST was fixed, and which was sprinkled with His precious blood. After these aspersions they skinned the victim, and cut it in pieces, and carried up the parts of it to the altar in great pomp by a little hill or ascent to it. The priests, as they went up, lifted up that part of the victim which they carried towards the four parts of the world.[a] Either the whole victim, or some part of it only, (according to the different sorts of sacrifices,) were burned upon the altar, where the priests maintained a fire always burning, by taking care to be perpetually laying fresh wood upon it.

As they went up to the altar they salted the victim; for the law forbad the presenting any there which was not salted: and the sacrifices were always attended with libations, which were a mixture of wine and flour. Sometimes they had cakes made of the finest flour, and oil, and incense, which were baked in a pan, or upon a gridiron; and at other times they had such as were made of parched wheat only. One half of these cakes were burnt, and the other half belonged to the priests. And all

[a] See De Tabern. lib. 7. c. 7. § 1. Maimon. de Ratione Sacrificii, c. 6. n. 18.

these which I have mentioned, the *victim*, the *wine*, the *oil*, and the *cake*, are all expressed in the single word *Corbanoth*, that is, *Gifts offered to God*; and were all either to be consumed, killed, burned, or poured out, with the ceremonies which the law prescribes, or else to be reserved for sacred banquets. Nevertheless, the victims and cakes have different names among the Hebrews; the former of which they called *Zebachim*, that is, *Sacrifices*, and the latter *Mincha*, that is *Offerings*. And the cakes which were made of the flour of wheat or barley, and wine, were called *cakes of libation*. All those which were offered at the altar must first have had some oil poured upon them; and incense must likewise have been first put to them, as is expressly commanded in Leviticus.[a] Salt was likewise put in all these cakes; and this is what Virgil calls *salsas fruges*, for the heathen had all these ceremonies. The cakes were burned upon the altar, and the wine poured out at the foot of it: but it was not lawful to put upon the altar either honey or leaven.

5. As to the *ministration* of the sacrifice any one might kill the victims, and skin them, and cut them in pieces: but the ceremonies, as those of catching the blood, and sprinkling it, belonged only to the priests. And in this the law is very express, that he who offers the sacrifice *shall kill it on the side of the altar, and shall cut it in pieces; but that the priests, the sons of Aaron, shall sprinkle the blood*

[a] Chap. ii. 1.

round about the altar.[p] And it may be remarked with Origen, that when Annas, Caiaphas, and the other priests, condemned JESUS CHRIST to death in the Sanhedrin, which was in the temple, they then, in that place where the altar was, poured out the precious blood of that innocent Victim to whom all the sacrifices of the law referred.

6. Before the building of the temple the sacrifices were offered up at the entrance into the tabernacle; but, after that was built, it was not lawful to offer them up any where but there, as is commanded by GOD Himself in Deuteronomy:[q] and this law took away from the Jews the liberty of sacrificing in any other place. They might slay their victims in any part of the priests' court that they liked, but not out of it; and they even were obliged to sacrifice the paschal lamb here. And to this prohibition of sacrificing any where but in the temple built at Jerusalem JESUS CHRIST alludes, when he says in St. Luke *that it cannot be that a a prophet perish out of Jerusalem:*[r] for by this means not so much as the *types* of the death of *the prophet* could be represented any where but in that city. Those victims that were most holy could only be offered up on the north side of the altar.

7. As to the *time* of offering sacrifice, it could only be done by day: and the blood of the animal was always sprinkled the same day that it was

[p] Lev. i. 11, 12. [q] Chap. xii. 14.
[r] Chap. xiii. 33.

killed; for the blood became polluted as soon as the sun was down.* But if the sprinkling had been made in the day-time the members and entrails of the victim might be burnt all night long.

The *morning sacrifice* was offered as soon as the day began to break, before the sun was above the horizon: and the *evening one* as soon as darkness began to overspread the earth. The *paschal lamb* was offered between *the two evenings*, that is to say, at the time when the sun begins to decline, about the hour that JESUS CHRIST expired on the cross, which answers to our three in the afternoon.

8. We now come to the other sorts of sacrifices. One alone was not sufficient to represent the adorable sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST, the effects of which are infinite; and therefore it was necessary the old law should have different sorts of them. Some of them were more, and some of them less holy: but they were all either 1st, *burnt-offerings*; or, 2dly, *sin-offerings*; or, 3dly, *trespass-offerings*; or, 4thly, *peace-offerings*. Maimonides reduces all the sacrifices of the Jews to these four sorts; which were either offered up by particular persons, or else by the whole people in general: and we shall say something of each.

1st, The *Holocaust*, or *burnt-offering*, as the word implies, is a sacrifice or victim, which is *entirely consumed* by fire, together with the intestines and feet, which they took care to wash before

* See my *Discourse on the Eucharist*, where this subject is considered at large.

it was offered. But it was not so with other sacrifices: a *part* only of them was burnt, and the rest divided among the priests, and the laymen who offered the sacrifice. The Hebrews call it עלה *Aalah*, which signifies *to rise*, because the victim appeared *to rise up* to heaven in a smoke, as *an odour of sweet smell* before GOD.[t] It sometimes happened that fire came down from heaven, and miraculously consumed the victim. The reader may likewise find an account of the ceremonies that attended the offering up the *burnt-offering* in Leviticus, ch. i. 5, 6.

2dly, The second sort of sacrifice is called a *sin-offering*. And here we may observe, that the words which St. Paul puts into the mouth of JESUS CHRIST, in the epistle to the Hebrews,[u] *Sacrifice and offering, and burnt-offering, and offerings for sin, thou wouldst not*, are not to be understood of GOD's having refused to accept of the sacrifice which JESUS CHRIST had offered Him for the sins of men; but only that GOD disliked all the antient sacrifices, the oblations, the burnt-offerings, and the sin-offerings, which were made to Him under the law. This sacrifice was likewise sometimes simply called *sin*; and therefore, when it is said that JESUS CHRIST *was made sin for us*,[v] we are to understand thereby, that He

[t] עלה differently pronounced *Olah*, *Holah*, and *Gnolah*. Lev. i. 3.

[u] Chap. x. 8.

[v] 2 Cor. v. 21. Υπερ ημων αμαρτιαν εποιησεν. The word αμαρτια is used by the Septuagint for a *sin-offering* in ninety-

was made a *sin-offering* for us. The Hebrews understand by the word חטאת *chatath*, (sin,) any voluntary crime, or violation of the law, which was committed through inadvertency, and which God always punished unless it was expiated. And they were persuaded, that several diseases and pains, as leprosy, and the pains of child-bearing, were punishments for some sin; and therefore the sacrifices that were offered by lepers, or women after they had lain in, are reckoned among the sin-offerings.

3dly, In order to understand what is meant by the third sort of sacrifices, we must first know what the Hebrews meant by the word *Asham*,[w] which the Latin interpreter renders *delictum*, and signifies a *trespass, error*, or *doubt*. They offered this third sort of sacrifice when they had just reason to doubt whether they had broken some precept of the law of God, or no. When they were in this uncertainty, they were obliged to offer sacrifice. What the law commands concerning it is this,[x] *And if a soul sin, and commit any of these things which are forbidden to be done by the commandments of the* LORD; *though he wist it not, yet is he guilty, and shall bear his iniquity. And he shall bring a ram without blemish out of the flock, with thy estimation, for a trespass-offering, unto the priest:*

four places in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, which is their translation of the Hebrew חטאת *chatah*, and which in all the above places is rendered *sin-offering* in our English bibles.

[w] אשם *Asham*, to be guilty, or liable to punishment.

[x] Lev. v. 17, 18.

and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his ignorance wherein he erred, and wist it not; and it shall be forgiven him.

4thly, The *peace-offering*, or sacrifice of gratitude, (for the Hebrew word *shelamim* signifies both) was offered as a thanksgiving either for having recovered health, or for having received some signal mercy of GOD, or for the happy state of their affairs; and therefore it is called *eucharistical*.[y]

But some divide sacrifices into those of *consecration*, which was offered when any one was admitted into the priesthood; those of *purification*, which was offered for women who had lain in, and lepers; and those of *expiation*, which were offered for purifying the sanctuary, or temple, or people.

9. Nothing now remains, but to speak of the manner of partaking of the sacrifices; concerning which, we must observe, that nobody partook of the *burnt-offerings*, because they were entirely consumed by fire: and that in the other sacrifices, the law declares what parts of the victims belonged to the priests, and what parts belonged to those who offered them.[z] When the sacrifices were of the most holy sort, they were then always obliged to be eaten in the *holy place*, that is, within the courts of the temple; and nobody but Jews were admitted to this repast, and such only of them as had no legal impurity. And as to the other sacri-

[y] שלמים *shelameem*, from שלם *shalam*, to make whole, complete, to make up a difference between parties; to produce peace.

[z] Numb. xviii. 8, 20.

fices which were thought less holy, as the *paschal lamb*, it was sufficient to eat them within the walls of Jerusalem, but no where else.*

But besides these sacrifices of animals there were likewise, as has been said, some oblations among the Jews, which were made of bread, wine, oil, and incense. And of these there were three sorts; *viz.* 1st, such as were *ordinary*, or *common*; 2dly, such as were *free*; and, 3dly, such as were *prescribed*.

1st, The *ordinary* oblations that were made among them were, 1st, of a certain perfume called *thumiama*, which was burnt every day upon the altar of incense; and, 2dly, of the shew-bread, which was offered new every sabbath-day, and the old taken away and eaten by the priest.

2dly, The *free* oblations were either the fruits, 1st, of promises; or, 2dly, vows: but the former did not so strictly oblige as the latter. And of vows there were two sorts: 1st, *the vow of consecration*, when they devoted any thing, either for a sacrifice, or for the use of the temple, as wine, wood, salt, and the like; and, 2dly, *the vow of engagement*, when persons engaged themselves to do something which was not in itself unlawful, as not to eat of some particular meat, not to wear some particular habits, not to do such and such innocent things, not to drink wine, nor to cut their hair, not to live longer in any house, and such like. When they made a vow, they made use of these forms: *I*

* Maimonides de Ratione Sacrificiorum, cap. xi. n. 5.

charge myself with a burnt-offering; or, *I charge myself with the price of this animal, for a burnt-offering*. Besides which, they had likewise other shorter forms; as for example, when they devoted all they had, they only said, *All I have shall be Corban*, that is, I make a present of it to GOD. For the word *corban* signifies *a present* made to GOD; which is the very same thing that St. Mark says of it,[b] *Corban* (that is to say, a gift,) *by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me*. The Pharisees taught, that as soon as a man had once said this to his parents, as soon as he had pronounced the word *corban*, he thereby consecrated all he had to GOD, and could not even retain enough to support his father and mother: and therefore JESUS CHRIST with reason reproaches them with having destroyed by their tradition that commandment of the law which enjoins children to honour their fathers and mothers. The law required an exact performance of these vows; and the things that were thus given to GOD were reckoned among things sacred, which nobody could alienate without sacrilege.

3dly, The *prescribed* oblations were either, 1st, *First-fruits*; or, 2dly, the *Tenths*.

1st, All the *first-fruits* of both fruit and animals were due to GOD.[c] Among animals, the males only belonged to GOD; and they not only had the liberty, but were even obliged to redeem them, in the case of men and unclean animals, which could not be

[b] Chap. vii. 11. [c] Exod. xxii. 29.

offered up in sacrifice to the LORD. And as to fruits, they were forbidden to begin the harvest till they had offered up to GOD the *omer*, that is, the new sheaf, the day after the great day of unleavened bread; and were forbidden to bake any bread made of new corn till they had presented the new loaves on the day of Pentecost. Before the offering up of the first-fruits, all was unclean; after this oblation, all was holy: to which St. Paul alludes in the eleventh chapter of his epistle to the Romans, ver. 16, when he says, *If the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy.* The law commands, says Philo, that as often as the people make bread they should lay aside the first-fruits for the priests: and this keeps up religion in their hearts; for when they accustom themselves to lay aside something for GOD, they cannot easily forget Him. To which Maimonides adds, that he who ate of his fruits before he had paid the tithe of it, was punished with sudden death. And as of fruits and animals, so likewise of oil and wine; the first-fruits of them were paid to GOD.[d]

2dly, Besides *first-fruits*, the Jews likewise paid the *tenths* of all the fruits of the earth. St. Jerom, in his *commentary on the fifty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel*, divides the *tenths* into four sorts; 1st, such as were paid to the *Levites* by the people, who were forbidden the eating of any fruit before this tenth was paid, upon pain of death: 2dly, such as were paid by the *Levites* to the *priests*;

[d] Deut. xviii. 4.

3dly, such as were reserved for the banquets which were made within the verge of the temple, to which the *priests* and *Levites* were invited: and, 4thly, such as were paid every three years, for the support of the poor. If any one had a mind to redeem the tithes he was to pay, he was obliged to pay one fifth above their real value; and the tithes that belonged neither to the *priests* nor *Levites* were carried to the temple of Jerusalem, from all parts of the world where any Jews were. But the distant provinces converted it into money which was sent to Jerusalem, and applied to the sacrifices and entertainments at which the law required gaiety and joy. Josephus, who relates this custom, calls this money *consecrated;* and we may say that it was either in order to support this pious custom, or else in order to substitute a more necessary one in the room of this, which was now no longer so, that the apostle took care to send alms to Jerusalem from all parts of the world. The account of it is in the first epistle to the Corinthians, xvi. 1—3, where St. Paul says, *Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store as* GOD *has prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem.*

CHAP. V.

Of the Ministers of the Temple, the Priests, Levites, Nazarites, and Rechabites.

THE Jews, in the establishment of their republic, had no other king but GOD Himself; and the place appointed for their sacrifices and prayers was at the same time both the temple of their GOD, and the palace of their Sovereign. And hence comes all that pomp and magnificence in their worship; that prodigious number of ministers, officers, and guards; and that very exact order in their functions; which was first established by Moses, and afterwards renewed by David with yet greater splendour. The tabernacle was the first palace GOD had among the Hebrews, and to that the temple succeeded; and the tribe of *Levi* was chosen, if I may so speak, to form His household. And for this reason, it was disengaged from all other cares, and absolutely devoted to the service of the altar: but the honour of the priesthood was reserved to the family of Aaron alone, and the rest of the tribe divided only the inferior offices of the temple among them, so that all the *priests* were indeed *Levites*, but all the *Levites* were not *priests*. Nor were the *priests* and *Levites* the only sacred persons among the Jews; and therefore, in order to comprehend them all, I shall in this Chapter

speak, 1. of the *Levites*; 2. of the *Priests*; 3. of the *Officers* of the synagogue; 4. of the *Nazarites*; 5. of the *Rechabites*; 6. of the *Patriarchs*; and, 7. of the *Prophets*.

1. Of the *Levites*. But before I enter into a particular account of their functions, I shall say something, 1st, of the estates which GOD assigned them for their subsistence, in order to free them from the importunate cares of life, which might otherwise have diverted them from His service; 2dly, of their consecration; 3dly, of their age; and then proceed to say something, 4thly, of their functions; 5thly, of their number; 6thly, of such of them as were *officers of the temple*; and, 7thly, of the *Nethinim*, or their servants.

1st, In the division of the Land of Promise the *Levites* had not their portion of it: there were only eight and forty cities assigned them for the support of their cattle; and thirteen of these came to share with the *priests*. And these are all the possessions the *Levites* had: but to make them amends for that, the other tribes paid them the tithe of all their estates, and they paid the tenths of that to the *priests*. And besides this, the *priests* had likewise the first-fruits, and a considerable part of the offerings that were made to GOD. All which may be seen in the book of *Numbers*.[a]

2dly, As to the admittance of the *Levites* into the ministry, birth alone did not give it to them; they were likewise obliged to receive a sort of con-

[a] Chap. xviii.

secration. "*Take the Levites from among the children of Israel,* says GOD to Moses, *and cleanse them. And thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: sprinkle water of purifying upon them; and let them shave all their flesh, and let them wash their clothes, and so make themselves clean. Then let them take a young bullock, &c.*[b]

3dly, Nor was any *Levite* permitted to exercise his function, till after he had served a sort of novitiate for five years, in which he carefully learned all that related to his ministry. Maimonides, who gives an account of this custom, thereby reconciles two places in Scripture, which appear contrary to each other: for it is said in the book of *Numbers,* in one place,[c] that the *Levites* were not admitted into the service of the temple, till they were *thirty* years old; and in another,[d] that they were admitted at *twenty-five.* The last of which two ages shews the time when they began their probation, and the other the time when they began to exercise their functions. So that the *Levites* were at the full age of a man, when they were admitted into their office; and at the age of *fifty* they were discharged from it. But this Rabbin pretends, that this discharge was only granted in the wilderness, because the tabernacle often changed place, and the removal of it being troublesome and laborious, required young men to do it; and that, when the tabernacle was fixed, age

[b] Numb. viii. 6, 7, 8. Exod. xxix. 1—37.
[c] iv. 3. [d] viii. 24.

was no dispensation for the *Levites* to quit the exercise of their offices.

4thly, As to their functions: Moses is very particular in giving an account of what each *Levite* was to carry, upon the removal of the tabernacle:[e] but these offices subsisting no longer, after the conquest of the land of Canaan, David established a new order among the *Levites*, whereby some were appointed to guard the gates,[f] some to sing psalms,[g] and some to guard the treasures;[h] and he likewise divided them into different classes, of which Maimonides reckons *twenty-four*; and each of these was to serve a whole week. The head of each of these classes divided those who were under him into different families, and chose out every day a certain number of them who were to serve for that day; and the heads of these families assigned every one his office. But the *Levites* were not permitted to do any thing that was to be done about the altar.

5thly, The number of these *Levites*, upon the account that was taken of those who were thirty years of age, in Solomon's time, was *thirty-eight thousand*;[i] and thence we may judge of the magnificence of the house of GOD, in which there were so many officers. *Of which*, says the Scripture, *twenty and four thousand were to set forward the work of the house of the* LORD; *and six thousand*

[e] Numb. iv.
[f] 1 Chron. ix. 17—26, and xxvi.
[g] 1 Chron. xxv.
[h] 1 Chron. ix. 29.
[i] 1 Chron. xxiii. 3.

were officers and judges. Moreover four thousand were porters, and four thousand praised the LORD *with the instruments, and David divided them into courses.*[k] To which the Scripture adds, *For by the last words of David the Levites were numbered from twenty years old and above: because their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron, for the service of the house of the* LORD, *in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of holy things, and the work of the service of the house of* GOD; *both for the shew bread, and for the fine flour for meat-offering, and for the unleavened cakes, and for that which is baked in the pan, and for that which is fried, and for all manner of measure and size; and to stand every morning to thank and praise the* LORD, *and likewise at even, and to offer all the burnt sacrifices unto the* LORD, *in the sabbaths, in the new-moons, and on the set feasts, &c.*[l]

And, 6thly, The Gospel likewise tells us, that there were *officers* in the temple: and the name St. Luke gives them signifies *officers of war*;[m] so that we may on this account also look on the temple as a camp. Besides the general officer, Maimonides reckons up fifteen subalterns,[n] whose business it was to give notice of the time for the solemnities, the day and hour of the sacrifices, and to set the

[k] 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, 5, 6.

[l] Ibid. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

[m] Luke xxii. 52. στρατηγοι του ιερου.

[n] In his Treatise called *Chelim*, chap. vii.

guard. Besides which, they had likewise the charge of the music, the instruments, the table in which every one's office was set down according as it had fallen to him by lot, the seals, the libations, the sick, the waters, the shew-bread, the perfumes, the oils, and the sacerdotal habits. But to give the greater light to all this, I will repeat what Maimonides has said of it, which will make the reader more and more admire the magnificence of the house of GOD. "Every officer (says he) had under him several persons, who executed his orders in every thing that related to his charge. He, for example, who was to mark the time, caused the hours to be reckoned; and, when that of the sacrifice was come, either he or some of his men cried with a loud voice, "To the sacrifice, ye priests; to the tribune,* ye Levites; and to your ranks, ye Israelites;" and then immediately every one prepared himself to set about his duty. He, who had the care of the gates, ordered when they should be shut, and when opened; and the trumpets which gave notice that the gates were going to be opened, could not sound, till they had his orders. The officer of the guard took his rounds at night; and, if he found any of the Levites upon guard asleep, he either caned him or burnt his vests. The superintendant of the music every day chose the musicians who were to sing the hymns, and gave orders to the trumpets to give notice of the sacrifices. The masters of the instruments de-

* Music Gallery.

livered them out to the Levites, and appointed what instruments should every day be used. And he who had the charge of the table made the priests draw lots, and assigned every one his office."[p] If the reader has a mind to see more of this, I refer him to the book itself; and shall only add here, that there was another officer besides these, whose business it was to take care of the priests that fell sick, which often happened. For, as they wore nothing but a single tunic, and drank no wine, and were obliged to go barefoot in the temple, which was paved with marble, they were very subject to the colic. But I must not forget to observe here, that David chose out two hundred and eighty-eight Levites to be masters of music, and teach the others to sing;[q] so that, as there were four and twenty courses of singers, each class had twelve masters; and in their performances they mixed both voices and instruments together.

7thly, and lastly, As the priests had the Levites under them, so had the Levites also others under them, whose business it was to carry the water and wood that were used in the temple. Joshua at first made use of the Gibeonites[r] for this purpose; and afterwards other nations were employed in it; and called *Nethinim*,[s] that is, persons who had *given themselves up*,- from the Hebrew נתן *nathan*, which signifies to *give*.

[p] In *Chelim*, chap. vii. [q] 1 Chron. xxv. 7.
[r] Josh. ix. 3—27.
[s] Ezra viii. 20. See De Tabern. lib. vii. c. 3. sect. 4.

From the consideration of the *Levites* we proceed now,

2dly, To that of the *Priests*. In which we shall mention, 1st, their order, 2dly, their election; 3dly, their manner of life; 4thly, their laws; 5thly, their functions; 6thly, their habits; 7thly, the consecration of the High-priest; 8thly, his succession; and, 9thly, his dress.

1st, The order that was observed among the priests was this:—They were divided, as we have seen, into four and twenty classes, each of which had its head, who was called the *prince of the priests*. Every week one of these classes went up to Jerusalem to perform the offices of the priesthood; and every sabbath-day they succeeded one another, till they had all taken their turns: but on the solemn feasts they all assembled there together. The prince of each class appointed an entire family every day to offer the sacrifices, and at the close of the week they all joined together in sacrificing. And as each class had in it different families, and each family consisted of a great number of priests, they drew lots for the different offices which they had to perform. And it was thus that *the lot fell* upon *Zacharias* the father of *John the Baptist, to burn incense when he went into the temple of the* LORD.[t]

2dly, From considering their order, we proceed to consider the manner in which the priests were chosen, and the defects which excluded them from

[t] Luke i. 9.

the priesthood. Among the defects of body, which rendered them unworthy of the sacerdotal functions,[u] the Jews reckon up *fifty* which are common to men and other animals, and *ninety* which are peculiar to men alone.[v] The priest, whose birth was polluted with any profaneness, was clothed in black, and sent without the verge of the priests' court; but he who was chosen by the judges appointed for that purpose was clothed in white, and joined himself to the other priests. And I know not whether St. John does not allude to this custom when he says, *He that overcometh the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot his name out of the book of life.*[w] They whose birth was pure, but who had some defect of body, lived in those apartments of the temple wherein the stores of wood were kept; and were obliged to split and prepare it, for keeping up the fire of the altar.

3dly, All the time the priests were performing their offices, both wine and conversation with their wives were prohibited.[x] And they had no other food but the flesh of the sacrifices, and the shew-bread. They performed all their offices standing,[y] and barefoot, and with their heads covered,[z] and feet washed.[a]

4thly, The laws which GOD laid upon the priests are these:—*GOD said unto Aaron, Do not*

[u] Lev. xxi. 16, 24. [v] De Tabern. lib. iii. c. 9. sect. 3.
[w] Rev. iii. 5. [x] Exod. xix. 15. Lev. x. 8—11.
[y] Maim. de Ratione adeundi Templ. c. v.
[z] Lev. x. 6. and xxi. 10. [a] Exod. xxx. 19.

drink wine nor strong drink, thou nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die.[b] *The priests shall not be defiled for the dead among his people, but for his kin.*[c] *They shall not take a wife that is a whore or profane, neither shall take a woman put away from her husband.*[d] *The daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father, she shall be burnt with fire.*[e]

5thly, As to the functions of the priests, their business was to keep up the fire upon the altar of burnt-offerings, that it might never go out;[f] to guard the sacred vessels; to offer the sacrifices; to wash the victims; to make the aspersions, whether of blood or water, upon the persons offering, upon the victims, or on the book of the law; to burn the incense upon the altar;[g] to dress the lamps; to put the new shew-bread upon the table, and to take away the old. And to them only it belonged to catch the blood of the victims, and sprinkle it upon the altar.[h] Such as were of the sacerdotal race, and were excluded from the priesthood, on account of any defect, had the care of cleaving the wood, which was burnt upon the altar; for they were very nice in choosing it, and

[b] Lev. x. 8, 9.
[c] Lev. xxi. 1, 2.
[d] Ibid. ver. 7.
[e] Ibid. ver. 9.
[f] Lev. vi. 13. Maimon. de Ratione Sacrif. c. v. n. 7.
[g] This was the first business of the day. De Tab. lib. 7. c. 6. sect. 2, 3.
[h] Ib. sect. 5. Exod. xxx. 7. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16—19.

thought it unlawful to use any there which was rotten, or worm-eaten. All the offices just now mentioned, were in common to the priests and highpriests: but besides them was a particular one, annexed to the latter dignity only; and that was, that the high priest alone went into the Holy of Holies once a year on the day of expiation; and he alone could offer up the sacrifice, which was then prescribed, both for his own sins and those of all the people.

6thly, As to the names and forms of the sacerdotal habits, we find them in Exodus[j] and Leviticus.[k] Those that were common to all the priests were, 1st, *linen-drawers;* 2dly, the *linen robe,* which was so strait that it had no fold in it; 3dly, the *girdle;* and, 4thly, the *tiara,* which was a sort of *bonnet* or *turban,* made of several rolls of linen cloth twisted round about the head.

7thly, All the priests had over them a highpriest, whose habits were different from theirs, and who was consecrated with some particular ceremonies.[l] At the time of his consecration they poured a precious oil upon his forehead, and this unction was made in the form of the Greek letter X. Maimonides tells us that this was not observed in the second temple, and that the high priest was then no otherwise consecrated than by the pontifical habits which he wore. But when it was observed, it was done in such plenty, that we are not to wonder if

[j] Chap. xxviii.
[k] Chap. viii.
[l] Lev. xxi. 10.

the holy oil which was poured upon his forehead ran down on all sides upon the beard of the highpriest; to which the Psalmist refers when, speaking of a precious perfume, he compares it with that which was used at Aaron's consecration.[m]

8thly, The high priesthood, as to its succession, descended by inheritance, and belonged to the eldest. In its first institution it was for life; but, from the time that the Jews became subject to the Greeks and Romans, the duration of this venerable office depended upon the will of the princes or governors. And under the Asmonean princes there was another considerable alteration made in this office. It then went out of the family of Aaron; and, passing into that of Judas Maccabeus, came into a private Levitical family; as appears from the catalogue which Josephus has given us of the highpriests.[n] There could not be two highpriests at once; but they chose a sort of vicar-general who supplied their places in their absence, and had the precedence before all other priests. The Hebrews gave him the name of *Sagan*, and he sat at the right hand of the highpriest. And therefore some think that Caiaphas was highpriest, and Annas his sagan; and that this is the reason why JESUS CHRIST was brought before them both.[o]

9thly, As to the habits peculiar to the highpriest, the first we shall speak of is that which the Hebrew

[m] Psalm cxxxiii. 2.

[n] See De Tab. lib. vii. c. 5. s. 7. See Josh. Ant. Book xx. c. 10. and x. c. 8. s. 6.

[o] Luke iii. 2.

text calls *mehil*. The Greek interpreters have once rendered it by ποδηρης,[p] which signifies a garment that reaches down to the feet; and this is the word which Josephus also makes use of. But, as the same Greek interpreters sometimes render it by other words, I am of opinion that the *mehil* was not so long; it might be a shorter sort of garment.

Upon the border of this garment, whatever it was, there were, instead of a fringe, seventy-two golden bells, and as many pomegranates: if then this garment had reached down to the ground, it would not only have hidden the *tunic*, or linen *alb*, which the highpriest wore under it, and which he had in common with the other priests, but these pomegranates and bells would likewise have lost their sound. And therefore the *mehil* may be said to have been called *poderes*, because it came down *almost* to the *feet*. The colour of it was purple; and under it was the tunic or linen alb,[q] which was common to all the priests. This linen was very fine, and twisted; so that the tunic was not woven close, but open; and there was raised work, and hollows, and figures in it, and its extremities reached down to the ground.

[p] Exod. xxviii. 4. מעיל from עלה alah *to go up*, was probably so called from being a sort of *outer*, or upper coat. Josephus says, "It reached down to the feet; and was not made of two distinct pieces sewed together at the shoulders and sides, but was one entire long garment, woven throughout." Antiq. B. iii. c. 7. s. 4. Our LORD's coat, mentioned John xix. 23. appears to have been precisely the same with the *mehil*. The English translators call it *the robe*.

[q] English, a *broidered* coat.

2dly, And besides this, the highpriest wore another sort of garment, which was like a waistcoat without sleeves; and which is by the Hebrews called an *ephod,* and by the Latins *superhumerale,* because it was fastened upon the *shoulders.* (And they likewise gave the name of ephod to another garment, something like this, which laymen were permitted to wear, as appears from David's being said to have been dressed in a *linen ephod.*[r]) Upon each shoulder he had also a precious stone, in which were engraven the names of the children of Israel: in that on the right shoulder were the names of the six eldest tribes, or sons of Jacob; and in that on the left, those of the six youngest. And he had upon his breast a square piece of stuff,[s] of the dimensions of the Hebrew *zenith,* that is, about half a cubit. The Hebrews call it *hoschen,* that is, the *breast-plate,* because it was worn upon the breast: but the Greeks call it *logion,* and the Latins from them *rationale;* and from these latter comes the French term *rational.* The Greek word may be translated by this Latin one: but I think it would be better rendered *oraculum,* because this was as it were the *oracle* by which GOD gave His answers; for the highpriest, when he would, on any occasion, consult GOD, put on this ornament upon his breast, and GOD answered him in the manner we are going to relate. There were upon the breast-plate twelve precious stones, upon which were likewise engraven the names of the twelve

[r] 2 Sam. vi. 14. [s] Exod. xxviii. 15—20.

sons of Jacob; and upon it were also the *Urim* and *Thummim.* The first of these words signifies *lights* or *knowledge,* and the other *truth* or *perfection;* and the Jews pretend that they were two *sacred signs,* by which GOD made known His will: and when they ceased to appear, it was no longer known what they were. All that is certain concerning this opinion is, that the word *Urim* signifies *lights;* and perhaps it was so called because these precious stones shone with an extraordinary and miraculous fire. So that the *Urim* and *Thummim* were something more than barely two words engraven on the breast-plate; and, indeed, we often find in Scripture that GOD was consulted by *Urim,*[t]

3dly, And lastly, the highpriest wore likewise a plate of gold upon his forehead, on which were engraven these two words, קדש ליהוה *kodesch layhovah,* that is, *Holy to the Lord.* It was tied with a purple or blue ribbon to his tiara, which was made of linen, like those of the other priests, and was only distinguished from them by this plate and ribbon.

3dly, Next to the priests and Levites, the *Officers of the Synagogue* should be considered in this Chapter. They were in some sort sacred persons, since they had the superintendency of those places which were set apart for prayer and instruction. They were of several sorts; some of them being *presidents,* whom the Greeks call *princes of the synagogue,* and the Hebrews *heads of the con-*

[t] Deut. xxxiii. 8. Numb. xxvii. 21. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

gregation.[u] These were men advanced in age, men of letters and understanding, and of known probity. The Hebrews call them *chocamim*, that is, *sages*, or *wise men*; and their authority was considerable. They were judges of pecuniary matters, of thefts, damages, and such like; and St. Paul doubtless alludes to them in the sixth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, ver. 5, when he reproaches the Christians with carrying their differences before the tribunals of the Gentiles, as if they had no persons among themselves who were capable of judging them. *Is it so*, says he, *that there is not a* wise man *among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?* And these had likewise the power of punishing those whom they judged to be rebellious against the law; and hence it is, that our LORD forewarns His disciples that *they should be scourged in the synagogues.*[w] Besides these *presidents*, or *princes of the synagogue*, there were likewise in every synagogue a sort of *minister*, who read the prayers, directed the reading of the law, and preached; and was called *chazan*, that is, an inspector or bishop.[x] And to this minister were

[u] These are in the New Testament called Αρχισυναγωγοι, or *rulers of the synagogue*, Mark v. 34. Luke viii. 41.

[w] Matt. x. 17.

[x] He who read the prayers and gave the blessing in the synagogues, was, according to Dr. Prideaux, a different officer from the *chazan*, and was called *Sheliach Zibbor*, or *the Angel of the Church*; whence it is that the bishops are called (Rev. i.) *angels of the churches*. The *chazan*, according to him, was an infe-

joined other officers, who had the care of the poor, and collected the alms; and these were called *parnasim*, that is, pastors and rectors. As to the reading of the law in the synagogues, it was always done in Hebrew;[y] and this made it necessary, as soon as that language ceased to be their mother tongue, to establish an interpreter, whom the Jews call *targumista*. And by this means the doctor, who explained the law in Hebrew, came to have an interpreter always by him, in whose ear he softly whispered what he said, and this interpreter repeated aloud to the people what had been thus whispered to him. This Lightfoot plainly proves in his *Horæ Talmudicæ*; and this JESUS CHRIST had in view when he said to His disciples, *What ye hear in the ear that proclaim ye upon the house-tops.*[z] But the synagogues were not only places set apart for prayer, they were also schools where the young were taught. The *sages*, for so the masters were called, sat upon benches, and the young men sat *at their feet*; which is the reason

rior officer, whose business was to take care of the books, and other utensils; a sort of deacon, such as the *Parnasim* are here said to be. And to such a one as is called a *minister* our SAVIOUR gave the book, when He had done reading in the synagogue. Luke iv. 20. Connec. P. i. B. 6. Under the year 444, p. 306, 307 of the folio edition.

[y] Of the manner of reading the Scripture in the synagogues, see Prid. Conn. P. i. B. 6. Under the year 444, p. 306 of the folio edition; and see particularly the Tables subjoined to my Commentary on Deuteronomy, where the subject is considered in all its variety and detail.

[z] Matt. x. 27.

St. Paul says he learned the law *at the feet of Gamaliel.*[a] We shall now add an account of such as distinguished themselves from the people by the holiness of their lives: and such were,

4thly, The *Nazarites,* or as some call them *Nazareans,* which is a Hebrew word, and signifies *separated.* God Himself is the Author of this kind of life.[b] From the moment they devoted themselves to it they abstained from all sorts of liquors that could intoxicate; and never cut their hair afterwards till the day their vow ended. And of these there were two sorts: 1st, *Nazarites by birth,* as were Samson, and John the Baptist; and, 2dly, *Nazarites by vow and engagement.* The latter followed this kind of life only for a time, after which they cut off their hair at the door of the tabernacle. Maimonides observes,[c] that there were sometimes some zealous persons, who voluntarily defrayed the expenses which were necessary for cutting off the hair of one or more Nazarites after they had offered the necessary sacrifices, when the time of their vows was expired; which may serve to explain that passage in the twenty-first chapter of the Acts which some persons misunderstand in thinking that St. Paul is there spoken of as having made a vow to become a Nazarite. But the true sense of the chapter is this: the apostles advise St. Paul to bear the necessary expenses of four Naza-

[a] Acts xxii. 3.

[b] In the sixth chapter of Numbers we have an account of the qualifications of the Nazarites and their austerities.

[c] In his treatise of the *Nazarcate.*

rites, in order to remove the opinion the people had received of him, that he despised the law of Moses. Now they that bore these expenses were obliged to purify themselves: and therefore St. Paul appointed a day whereon he would, after the time the vow was past, pay the money that was necessary to buy the victims that were to be offered up on this occasion; in order thereby to undeceive the Jews concerning the reports that had been spread about him.[a]

5thly, *Rechabites,* like the Nazarites, separated themselves from the rest of the Jews, in order to lead a more holy life.[*] Jeremiah describes the life and customs of the Rechabites in the thirty-fifth chapter of his prophecy, ver. 5—7, thus: *I set,* says he, *before the sons of the house of the Rechabites pots full of wine, and cups; and I said, Drink ye wine. But they said, We will drink no wine, for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons, for ever. Neither shall*

[a] Not that this is so to be understood with *Petit,* as to imply that St. Paul had no vow upon himself: it is to me very evident from Acts xviii. 18, that he had a *vow* upon himself (which he made at Cenchrea, and therefore *shaved* himself there, by way of initiation into it, as all those who made vows, or were Nazarites did,) as well as assisted the others in defraying the expenses of their vows. See Lamy de Tabern. lib. vii. c. 3. s. 2.

[*] The Rechabites' manner of living was not only *a matter of religion,* but also a *civil ordinance* grounded upon a national custom. They were Kenites, or Midianites, who used to live in tents, as the Arabians still do. Hab. iii. 7. Mede's Works, p. 127.

ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any. This Rechab the father of Jonadab lived under Jehu king of Israel, in the time of the prophet Elisha.[f] These Rechabites lived in tents, and flourished about a hundred and fourscore years. But after the captivity they were dispersed, unless the *Essenes*, of whom we have before spoken,[g] succeeded them. It is certain that they followed the same kind of life.

6thly, Among the number of sacred persons we may likewise put the *Patriarchs*. Such were Adam, Noah, Abraham, and the rest; since they did the offices of priest, offered sacrifices, and taught religion at home and abroad, in proportion to the light they received from GOD.

7thly, The *prophets* are also of this number; and were raised up in an extraordinary manner for the performance of the most holy functions. They were at first called *Seers:* they discovered future things, they declared the will of GOD, and spoke to both kings and people with a surprising confidence and freedom. Prophecy was not always annexed to the priesthood; there were prophets of all the tribes, and sometimes even among the Gentiles:[h] and the office of a prophet was not only to *foretell* what should afterwards come to pass, it was their business likewise to *instruct* the people, and they interpreted the law of GOD; insomuch that the word *prophet* sometimes signifies an *interpreter*

[f] 2 Kings x. 15.
[g] See page 214.
[h] Numb. xi.

or *teacher*. But of both *patriarchs* and *prophets* we have already spoken. See pages 7—20, and page 140.

CHAP. VI.

The Jewish Confession of Faith—Doctrine of original Sin—Opinion of the Messiah's Kingdom.

NOTHING more facilitates the understanding of an author than the knowing what ends he proposed to himself in writing; and we can never well understand what these views were unless we know what were the dispositions, sentiments, and customs, of those for whom he wrote. For an author always adapts his discourse to all these things; he either touches transiently upon them, or he maintains them, or he refutes them. And from hence it is easy to perceive how useful it is, in order to understand the Gospel and apostolical epistles, to know what were the opinions and usages of the Jews at the time when the authors of the New Testament wrote. By Jewish opinions I do not mean the precepts and doctrines of the law, but certain traditions which they pretend were left them by their fathers, which are now found in the Talmud, and which the Jews, who are strict adher-

ents to their customs and ceremonies, do yet observe to this day.

The Confession of Faith, which contains these traditions, consists of thirteen articles; but they are not all equally antient. The ninth, which declares that the law of Moses cannot be abolished by any other law, was evidently drawn up against the Christian religion. This Confession of Faith, as represented by Buxtorf in his treatise *De Synagogâ Judaicâ*, is as follows:—

"1. I firmly believe that GOD, blessed be His name for ever, is the Creator and the Master of all things; and that every thing was, is, and will be made for Him alone.

2. I firmly believe that this Creator of all things, blessed be His name for ever, is One, by a unity peculiar to Himself; and that He alone has been, is, and will be, our GOD.

3. I firmly believe that this Creator, blessed be His name for ever, is not corporeal, nor can in any manner whatsoever be conceived to be corporeal; and that there is nothing in the world that is like Him.

4. I firmly believe that the Creator, blessed be His name for ever, is eternal; and that He is the beginning and end of all things.

5. I firmly believe that the Creator, blessed be His holy name for ever, ought alone to be worshipped, exclusive of any other being.

6. I firmly believe that all the words of the prophets are true.

7. I firmly believe that all the prophecies of

Moses our master (may his soul rest in peace!) are true; and that he is superior to all the sages who went before or came after him.

8. I firmly believe that the law which we have now in our hands was given by inspiration to Moses.

9. I firmly believe that this law will never be changed; and that the Creator, blessed be His holy name, will never give another.

10. I firmly believe that the Creator, blessed be His holy name, knows all the actions and all the thoughts of men, as it is said, *he hath formed the hearts of all men, and is not ignorant of any of their works.*[a]

11. I firmly believe that the Supreme Creator rewards those who keep His law, and punishes those who break it.

12. I firmly believe, that the Messiah must come; and, though His coming be delayed, I will always expect it, till He does appear.

13. I firmly believe that the dead will rise at the time appointed by the Creator, whose name be blessed, and His glory magnified throughout all ages, to all eternity."

The Jews were so strictly attached to the worship of the true God, long before the birth of Jesus Christ, that no remains of their former inclination to idolatry was observed in them;[b] and

[a] Psalm xxxiii. 15.

[b] The true reason why the Jews were so prone to idolatry *before* the Babylonish captivity, and why they were so cau-

therefore neither JESUS CHRIST nor His apostles cast any reproaches upon them on that account. But because they received several other doctrines, which it is of some importance to know, besides those contained in these thirteen articles, I shall therefore give an account of them, beginning with that which relates to the birth of man.

The Rabbins acknowledge that there is in man a fund of corruption; and the Tulmud speaks of original sin thus:—"We ought not to be surprised that the sin of Eve and Adam was so deeply engraven; and that it was as it were sealed with the king's signet, that it might be thereby transmitted to all their posterity. It was because all things were finished the day that Adam was created, and he was the perfection and consummation of the world; so that when he sinned all the world sinned with him. We partake of his sin, and share in the punishment of it, but not in the sins of his descendants."

The Rabbins teach that the wounds which were made in man by sin will be cured by the Messiah; but they say there will be two Messiahs, one of which shall be put to death, and the other shall appear with glory. As to the time of His coming, they acknowledge that their fathers believed that

tiously fixed against it ever *after* that captivity, plainly appears to be this, that they had the law and the prophets read to them every week in their synagogues after the captivity, which they had not before: for they had no synagogues till after it. Prid. Con. P. 1. B. 6. Under the year 444, p. 559 of the 8vo Edition.

the space which the world was to last was *six thousand* years; that of these GOD appointed *two thousand* for the law of nature, *two thousand* for the law of Moses, and *two thousand* for the Messiah; and that, according to this account, the Messiah must have come much about the same time that JESUS CHRIST was born and died: but, say they, the iniquities of men, which are increased *ad infinitum*, have obliged GOD to let a great part of this last two thousand years pass away before the coming of the Messiah. And they now forbid the making of any computation of the years of His coming.

The Jews hate all the rest of mankind: they even think themselves obliged to kill them, unless they submit to the precepts given to Noah; and no body is with them their *neighbour* but an Israelite.[e] And what praises soever they may give to the law of Moses, yet they think it lawful for them to break it to save their lives. They seldom make use of the name of GOD in their oaths; when they do, it makes them inviolable. But when they swear by the creatures, they do not look on those as sacred; nor do they make any scruple of breaking them: and this gave occasion to JESUS CHRIST and His apostles to forbid the use of all

[e] As this is an avowed sentiment of all the antient and modern Jews, (see page 261) we may see how dangerous it would be to permit them to have any rule or influence in any nation under the sun. Had they strength and authority, their career would be like that of Mohammed; every man must be butchered who would not submit to be circumcised.

sorts of swearing,[d] in order thereby to correct that horrid abuse of oaths which was common among the Jews, when the name of GOD was not in them.

CHAP. VII.

Some Account of the Antient Samaritans.

As the history of this singular people is so intimately connected with that of the *antient Israelites*, it may not be improper to give a short account of them in this place.

About the year of the world 3295, 709 before the Christian æra, *Sennacherib* king of Assyria, having failed in his attempts upon Judea, and becoming cruel and tyrannical even among his own people, in consequence of his disappointment, was slain by his two eldest sons, *Adrammelech* and *Sharezar*, while worshipping in the house of his god *Nisroch*. The parricides having fled, *Esarhaddon* the third son assumed the reins of government in the Assyrian empire.[e] After he had fully settled his authority in Babylon, he began to set his heart on the recovery of what had been lost to the empire of the Assyrians, in Syria and Palestine, on the destruction of his father's army in Judea. Having gathered together a great army, he marched

[d] Matt. v. 34. [e] 2 Kings xix. 37.

into the land of Israel, and took captive all those who were the remains of the former captivity (a few excepted, who escaped into the mountains, &c.) and carried them away into Babylon and Assyria.[b] As the land was in danger of becoming entirely desolate through lack of inhabitants, he brought colonies from *Babylon, Cutha, Ava, Hamath,* and *Sepharvaim;* and established them in the cities of Samaria, instead of those whom he had carried into captivity.[c] And thus *ten* tribes which had separated from the house of David were brought to an utter destruction, and could never afterwards assume any political consequence.

It appears that some considerable time must have elapsed from the captivity of the Israelites of Samaria, before the above heathen colonies were brought in; for we find immediately on their settling they were much infested with lions, commissioned by the LORD to be a scourge to these idolaters,[d] and which we may suppose had multiplied greatly after the desolation of the land. The king of Babylon being told that it was because they worshipped not the GOD of the country that they were plagued with these ferocious animals, ordered that one of the captive Jewish priests should be sent back, to teach these new settlers *the manner of the GOD of the land*[e], *i. e.* how to worship the GOD of Israel; as it was an antient

[b] 1 Chron. xxxii. 21. Isai. xxxviii. 38.
[c] 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2, 10. [d] 2 Kings xvii. 25.
[e] Ibid. v. 26.

opinion among the heathens that each district and country had its peculiar and tutelary deity. A priest was accordingly sent back, who took up his residence at *Beth-el*, and there established the worship of the true GOD; and the heathens incorporated this worship with that which they paid to their idols. The few remaining Jews soon became miserably corrupted both in their manners and religion; and while JEHOVAH was feared because of His supposed superior influence in that land, all the other gods of the Babylonians, Cuthites, Hamathites, Avites, and Sepharvites, had divine honours paid to them.

This monstrous mixture of idolatry with the worship of the true GOD continued for about 300 years, till the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, by Sanballat the Horonite, about A. M. 3595. B. C. 409. As the Jewish priesthood had been greatly corrupted by impure connexions, and heathenish alliance, Sanballat found no difficulty to procure a priest, a regular descendant of the house of Aaron, to officiate in the schismatical temple which he had lately erected: for one of the sons of *Joiada* the high priest, whom Josephus calls *Manasseh*,[f] having married the daughter of Sanballat, and refusing to separate from her, when *Nehemiah* insisted on all the Jews to put away their strange wives, or to depart the country, Manasseh fled to Samaria, and there became high-priest of the temple on Mount Gerizim, built by

[f] Antiq. B. xi. c. 7.

his father-in-law. Samaria now became a common asylum for refractory Jews; for all who had violated the law by eating forbidden meats, &c. and were called to account for it, fled to the Samaritans, by whom they were kindly received: and as multitudes had apostatized in this way, in process of time the major part of the people was made up of apostate Jews and their descendants. This soon brought about a general change in the religion of the country; for as they had hitherto worshipped the GOD of Israel only in conjunction with their false gods, after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the very same manner as in Jerusalem, and the law of Moses brought to Samaria, and there publicly read, they abandoned the worship of their idols, and became wholly conformed to the worship of the true GOD, in which they have hitherto continued with undeviating exactness; being in many respects more conscientious than the Jews themselves.[s] The Jews, however, considering them as *apostates*, hate them worse than any other nation: and the Samaritans consider the Jews their worst and most inveterate enemies.

It is necessary to observe, that, as out of Samaria no prophet arose after this time, and the Jewish prophets having weighed strongly against the Samaritan corruptions, they have never received the prophetical writings of the Hebrews, and have

[s] Prideaux. Con. Vol. I. p. 42, &c. Vol. II. p. 588, &c.

none of their own: so that all they acknowledge of the Jewish Scriptures to be divine is the five books of Moses, which they have in the most scrupulous and conscientious manner preserved till the present day; and to them the republic of letters is obliged for the preservation of the antient genuine Hebrew *character*, now called the *Samaritan*, which was thrown aside by *Ezra* when he published a connected edition of the Old Testament Scriptures, in which he used the Chaldee character, since improperly termed the *Hebrew*.[h] It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the Pentateuch is printed in this antient Hebrew character, in the first volume of the London Polyglott: and its additions are given in a parallel column in the first vol. of Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible; but the *Chaldee*, not the *Samaritan* characters, are used in Kennicott's work. This plan was first adopted by Father Houbigant in his Heb. and Lat. bible, fol. Paris, 1753, in the margin of which the differences between the Samaritan and the Hebrew text are to be found.

Having taken this general view of the rise and continuance of this remarkable sect, it may be necessary next to consider what their *present state* is, both in a religious and civil point of view.

[h] See a farther account of this in the *Succession of Sacred Literature*, under the article *Ezra*, Lond. Baynes, 1807, 12mo.

CHAP. VIII.

A short Account of the Samaritans in Judea and Egypt.

THE present state of the Samaritans in Egypt and Judea cannot be better known than from Dr. Huntington's Letters. This learned Englishman had seen them at Cairo and Napolussa, had corresponded with them, and examined them upon several things which common travellers generally omit.

"There are no Samaritans," he observes, "at Damascus; and though those of Sichem boast of their numerous brethren at Cairo, I saw there but one Samaritan and his wife, who were very poor. The synagogue is a little, nasty, and obscure chamber: here are kept two copies of the law, which may be about five hundred years old. They have a form of prayer; and a book they call Joshua, which contains a very short chronicle from the creation of the world to Mohammed. This false prophet is *cursed* at the end of the book; but that word is written in *Samaritan* that the Arabians may not understand it: lastly, they keep in this little library some commentaries on the law, written in Arabic. This is the language in common use, except when they quote any passage of the law, or write the names of their highpriests; for then they use the Samaritan characters.

"Those of Sichem or Napolussa, are for the most part farmers of the customs, and collectors of the tribute at Sichem, Gaza, Joppa, or else are secretaries to the Bassa, which gives them some countenance. They walk the streets well enough dressed, and are not so miserable as in other places. Their principal, *Merchab ben Yacoub*, wrote to me at Jerusalem. The letters were signed by eighteen persons, which were almost all of consideration at Sichem.

"This commissary of the customs was afterwards obliged to retire to Leghorn, because of the persecutions he met with in the Holy Land. These Samaritans boast of having a copy of the law written by the hand of *Abisha*. 'We have,' say they, in their letters, 'a sacred writing; it is the copy of the law, in which are found these words: 'I, Abisha, the son of Phineas, the son of Eleasar, the son of Aaron the high-priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the thirteenth year of the children of Israel's entrance into the Holy Land, or upon the frontiers.' The Samaritans having boasted of this copy, I was willing, in a second journey I made to Sichem, to examine the truth of the fact with my own eyes. But I turned the manuscript long enough without finding the words: and the Samaritans who were present confessed that these words were not now in their copy; that they were there formerly, but somebody had maliciously expunged them.

"Thus, instead of honestly acknowledging their

imposture, they face it with a new falsehood, and sacrifice their conscience to a chimerical antiquity."

All the Samaritans hate the Jews mortally: for this traveller relates that they having one day asked him whether there were Hebrews in his country, they were overjoyed to hear there were; but when he went to undeceive them, because they took the Jews of England for Samaritans, they would not believe him. "No, no! cried they, they are Israelites, Hebrews, our most *brotherly brethren*." As they do not give the Jews the title of Hebrews, or Israelites, they think all nations do the like. And indeed they fancy that they are the only stock of antient Israel. One of them had a design to come and see those whom he called his brethren in England: but, understanding he must be upon the sea on the sabbath, he thought it was breaking the rest of it, and would hear no more of the voyage; for they observe the sabbath with the utmost strictness. They do not pronounce the name *Jehovah*, but make use of the word שמא *Sema*. Mr. Ludolf, with a great deal of reason, believed it to be the word שם *shem*, which signifies *the* NAME, by way of eminence. What is more surprising is, that the Christians of Egypt do the same thing, never pronouncing the word *Phta*, which is the name the Egyptians gave GOD, to signify that He did every thing without fraud, with art and truth; but they call GOD *Ebrudi*."

"Their notions of the Messiah are very confused, and very different: but they always speak honourably of Him, and they do not declaim much

against those who worship Him. Their hatred to the other Jews perhaps makes them more moderate to the Christians."

To omit nothing that concerns the religion of the Samaritans, I shall here add the confession of faith which the highpriest *Eleazar* sent to *Scaliger* in the name of the synagogue of *Sichem*, which that great man consulted:—

"1. The Samaritans observe the sabbath with all the exactness required in the book of Exodus. For none of them goes out of the place where he is is on the sabbath day, but only to go to the synagogue, where they read the law and sing GOD's praises. They do not sleep that night with their wives, and neither kindle nor order fire to be kindled; whereas the Jews transgress the sabbath in all these points: for they go out of town, have fire made, sleep with their wives, and even do not make use of proper ablutions.

2. They hold the *passover* to be their first festival. They begin at sun-set, by the sacrifice enjoined for that purpose in Exodus. But they sacrifice no where but on Mount Gerizim, where they read the law and offer prayers unto GOD, after which the priest dismisses the whole congregation with a blessing.

3. They celebrate for seven days together the *feast of the harvest*, but they do not agree with the Jews concerning the day on which it should begin: for those reckon the next day after the solemnity of the passover; whereas the Samaritans reckon fifty days, beginning the next day after the

sabbath, which happens in the week of unleavened bread; and the next day after the seventh sabbath following the feast of the harvest begins.

4. They observe the *feast of expiation* the tenth of the seventh month. They employ the four and twenty hours of the day in prayers to GOD, and singing His praises, and fasting. For all except *sucking* children fast; whereas the Jews except children which are under seven years of age.

5. On the fifteenth of the same month they celebrate the *feast of the tabernacles* upon the same mount, *Gerizim.*

6. They never defer *circumcision* beyond the eighth day, as it is commanded in Genesis; whereas the Jews sometimes defer it longer.

7. They are obliged to wash themselves in the morning when they have slept with their wives, or have contracted any defilement in the night; and all vessels that may become unclean are defiled when any such unclean person touches them.

8. They take away the fat from sacrifices; and give the priests the *shoulder,* the *jaws,* and *belly.*

9. They never marry their *nieces,* as the Jews do, and have but *one* wife; whereas the Jews may have many.

10. They believe in *GOD,* in *Moses,* and Mount *Gerizim;* whereas the Jews put their trust in others. We do nothing, say they, but what is expressly commanded in the law by the LORD, who made use of the ministry of Moses. But the Jews swerve from what the LORD hath commanded in

the law, to observe what their fathers and doctors have invented." Thus far their creed sent to *Scaliger.*

They say, that Mr. Huntington persuaded them that they had brethren in London; but *he* says that the Samaritans were misled by the name of Israelites, and thought that all who went by the name of Hebrews were Samaritans. Some fraud appears to have been practised upon them relative to this subject, in order to get a copy of their law; and they certainly did entrust him with a copy of their Pentateuch, which Dr. Huntington seems to have requested from them in the name of their pretended Samaritan brethren in England; at least, so I am led to understand their letter to these English Samaritans, a translation of which I subjoin from *Basnage,* that the fact may speak for itself. Indeed it is a literary curiosity; and, being perfectly authentic, is worthy of particular attention.

A Letter of the Samaritans to their Brethren in England.

"IN the name of the almighty, adorable GOD; in the name of the great LORD, who is by Himself, our GOD, the GOD of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who has said in His law, 'I am the GOD of Bethel,' the supreme GOD, LORD of heaven and earth, GOD Almighty, who has sent Moses the son of Amram, commissioned with His laws, and by

His means has revealed the holiness of Mount Gerizim, and of the house of GOD.

"We salute you, O synagogue of Israel, the people of our LORD and Master, who has chosen this people above all nations of the earth; for you are a people holy to the LORD. We call ourselves Samaritans; and we assure you, our brethren in Israel, that we are extremely devoted to Moses the prophet, and to the holy law. We observe the sabbath as GOD has commanded; for on that day nobody moves out of his place, except it be to pay his devotions at the house of the LORD. As all those who sought GOD went to the tabernacle of witness, we do nothing there but read the law, praise GOD, and pay Him our thanksgivings; and whereas the *Jews* ride on horseback, go out of the city, light fires on that day, and converse with their wives, *we* separate ourselves the night of the sabbath, and light no fire. The Jews do not wash after every kind of pollution; but *we* do, and purify ourselves thereby. We pray to GOD evening and morning, according to the command He has given us, '*You shall offer me a lamb in the morning, and another lamb between the two evenings.*' We lie upon the ground when we worship GOD before Mount Gerizim, the house of GOD.

"We have seven solemn feasts wherein we assemble. The first is the *feast of the passover*, at the time that our fathers came out of Egypt. We sacrifice the lamb the fourteenth day of the first month, at evening, a little before sun-setting; and eat it roasted, with unleavened bread and bitter

herbs. We make this sacrifice only upon Mount Gerizim: and we prepare it on the first day of the month *Nisan*, according to the Greeks. We reckon seven days for the *feast of unleavened bread*; six whereof we eat bread without leaven. On the seventh we go early at break of day to Mount Gerizim to celebrate the feast, and read the law. When prayers are ended, the priest gives the blessing to the people from the top of the eternal mountain. We do not begin to reckon the fifty days of the *feast of the harvest*, like the Jews, from the morrow of the feast of the passover: but we reckon them from the day following the sabbath that happens in the *feast of unleavened bread*, till the morrow of the seventh sabbath, on which we celebrate the *feast of harvest* upon Mount Gerizim. We celebrate also the seventh month, which begins with the *feast of trumpets*. Ten days after is that of propitiations; in which we sing hymns and say prayers, from one day to the other, night and day. The women and children fast, as well as the men, and we dispense with none but those that *suck*; whereas the Jews dispense with all under *seven* years old. We observe the feast of tabernacles upon Mount Gerizim, the fifteenth of the seventh month. We set up tabernacles, according to the order given us by GOD, *Ye shall take you the boughs of goodly trees; branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees and willows of the brook.* We spend seven days in joy under these tents, and on the eighth we end the feast of the LORD with a hymn."

"We very circumspectly observe whether the conjunction of the sun and moon happen in the night, or in the day before noon. If it happen before noon, that day is the first of the month; but if it happen at twelve o'clock or a little after, we delay the beginning of the month till the morrow: if the conjunction be *lunar*, the month continues twenty-nine days, but thirty if it be *solar*. If the new moon fall on the eleventh of the month *Adar* of the Greeks, we intercalate a month, and reckon thirteen that year. And the month that immediately follows is the first month of the year. But, if the month begin on the twelfth of Adar or some days after, then that is the first month of the year, and we reckon but twelve; for the week of unleavened bread must be in *Nisan*. The Jews reckon otherwise than we: *we* begin the sabbatic year and the jubilee from the first day of the seventh month."

"We sprinkle the water of separation the third and fourth days upon all that are defiled by the contact of women; and we sprinkle it seven days upon the woman who has an issue upon her. The woman who is delivered of a boy separates only forty-one days; and eighty if it be a girl: the circumcision is made exactly on the eighth day after the birth, without deferring it one single day as do the Jews. We purify ourselves from the defilements contracted in sleep; and we touch none of the unclean things specified in the law, without washing in clean water. We offer to GOD the fat of the victim, and give the priest the shoulder, the jaw, and the ventricle."

"It is not lawful for us to marry a niece, or a cousin, as is done by the Jews: we believe in Moses, and in Mount Gerizim. We have priests of the race of Levi, descended in a right line from Aaron and Phineas. We are all of the tribe of Joseph, by Ephraim, Manasses; and of the tribe of Levi. Our habitation is in the holy city of Sichem; and at Gaza we have a copy of the law written in the time of grace, in which we read these words: *I, Abishai, the son of Phineas, the son of Eliezar, the son of Aaron, have written this copy at the door of the tabernacle, in the thirteenth year of the people of Israel's entrance into the Land of Canaan, upon its frontiers.* We read this law in Hebrew, which is the holy tongue; and do nothing but according to the commands of God, given us by Moses, the son of Amram, our prophet, upon whom be peace for ever and ever. We give you notice, you that are our brethren, children of Israel, that R. Huntington, an uncircumcised man, is arrived here from Europe, and has acquainted us that you are a great people, composed of men pure and holy like ourselves, *and that you have sent him to desire of us a copy of the law;*[a] to whom we would not give credit till he had written before us some characters of the holy language, in order to assure you that we have the same Mosaic religion that you profess; and if we had not

[a] I must leave the reader to judge whether any unfair means were used by Mr. Huntington to obtain this Samaritan pentateuch. I must own, the whole transaction appears very little to his credit.

been willing to oblige you, we should not have sent a copy of the law by the hands of the uncircumcised, for that is a reproach to us. Nevertheless we have committed it to him with two other little books, that we might not absolutely deny your request. We also conjure you in the name of the living God not to deny our's, and to tell us what religion you are of? Tell us what is the language you speak, the city you live in, the king that governs you, and what religion he professes? Have ye any priests of the race of Phineas? Have ye only one priest? In the name of God tell us the truth, without any shadow of dissimulation; and send us a copy of the law, as we have sent you our's. Send us also some learned men, some prophets, some persons of repute, and especially some descendant of Phineas; for know that God has chosen us children of Israel to be His people, and to live at Gerizim, according to what He has said, *Ye shall seek their habitation, and shall go there.* He has said also, *Ye shall keep three feasts every year; the males shall rejoice three times a year before the* LORD. Know also, that all the prophets are buried in the territory of Sichem; our father Joseph, Eleazar, Ithamar, Phineas, Joshua, Caleb, the seventy elders, with Eldad and Medad.

"If you be willing to oblige us, acquaint us whether you be devoted to Moses, and to his law, to Gerizim, and the house of God; and send us some persons, without being concerned about the length of the journey. Do not entrust a Jew, for they hate us. If you send us any deputy, give us

notice of it by some friend. If you have the book of Joshua, and any liturgy, send us that also.

"Tell us what your law is. As for us, we call that the law which begins with the first word of Genesis, (בראשית) and ends with the last of Deuteronomy, (לעיני). Cause all this to be copied for us in the holy tongue, and tell us by what name you go? We adjure you by the name of the living God not to suffer a year to run over your heads without giving us an answer. In the mean time we bless God, the Lord of heaven and earth; and we implore His mercy and His justice to instruct you in all that can please Him, and to guide you in the good way, *Amen*. May He preserve you and deliver you from the hands of your enemies; and gather you together from your dispersions, into the land of your fathers, through the merits of Moses. We add, that this is our faith; we believe in God, in Moses His servant, in the holy law, in Mount Gerizim, the house of God, and in the day of vengeance and peace. Blessed for ever be our God; and let His peace rest upon Moses, the son of Amram, the righteous, perfect, pure, and faithful prophet. We have written this letter at Sichem, near Gerizim, the 15th day of the sixth month, which is the 27th day of the lunar month, in the 6111th year of the creation of the world; according to the Greeks, the second from the year of rest. This year the seventh month will begin the fourth of Elul, according to the Greeks; and the next year is the 3411th from the entrance into the Land of Canaan. God be blessed!"

"May this letter by the help of GOD arrive into the city England, to the synagogue of the Samaritan children of Israel, whom GOD preserve. It is written by the synagogue of Israel, dwelling at Sichem. Mechab, the son of Jacob, a descendant of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, was the secretary."

The Samaritan Pentateuch, which it appears from the above that the Rev. Mr. Huntington (then chaplain to the Turkey Company at Aleppo, and afterwards bishop of *Rapho* in Ireland,) had requested from them in the name of the Samaritans dwelling in England, is Cod. 65. in Kennicott's collection. Mr. Huntington made it a present to Abp. Marsh. It seems it had been highly prized by its Samaritan possessor; for, says Mr. Huntington, in an epistle to Ludolf, *He had it in his bosom, suspended from his neck.* Kennicott supposes it to have been written about the middle of the thirteenth century. The 33d and 34th chapters of Deuteronomy are supplied in this manuscript by *Marcab ben Yacoub,* the writer of the above epistle. The manuscript is in the 12mo form.

In the year 1790 I met with "an epistle from the Samaritans at Sichem, to the Samaritans of England," in *Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's, Dublin,* neatly written upon paper, in a very legible Samaritan character. It is probably the same with that mentioned above. I began to transcribe it as a curiosity, but could not find opportunity to finish it. It is directed in the following manner:—

לאדת בני ישראל השמרים השוכנים
:בעיר אנגלנד

Laedeth benee yisrael hashemereem hashokeneem baair angeland. "To the congregation of the children of Israel, the Samaritans dwelling in the city England." I mention this circumstance here, that any of the literati who are curious in oriental matters may know the residence of such a curiosity, and consult it when opportunity may offer. If my recollection be correct, a part of the epistle is accompanied with a Latin translation.

For further information relative to this people, I must refer the reader to Prideaux's Connections, as quoted above; to *Ludolf's* and *Huntington's Letters;* and to *Basnage's History of the Jews.* Whether any remains of this very antient sect of mongrel Jews be now in existence at Sichem or elsewhere I have not been able to learn. According to De Sacy there are.

CHAP. IX.

State of the modern Jews.—Their Liturgy.

THERE is some reason to fear that many Jews in the present day have drank deeply into the infidel spirit of the times, and no longer receive the writings of the Old Testament as *divinely inspired.* A Jewish Rabbi, a man of extensive information,

and considerable learning, lately observed to me, that "as Moses had to deal with a grossly ignorant, stupid, and headstrong people, he was obliged to have recourse to a pious fraud, and pretend that the laws he gave them were sent to him by the Creator of all things: and that all the antient legislators and formers of new states who had a barbarous people to govern, were obliged to act in the same way, such as Menu, Numa, Lycurgus, Mohammed, &c. and that the time was *very near at hand*, when all the inhabitants of the civilized world would be of *one religion*, viz. DEISM, which, he said, was a system of *truth*, compounded from Judaism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, and the writings of the antient heathen philosophers!" When I expressed my surprise at hearing a *Jew* talk thus, and asked him if any of his brethren were of the same mind, he answered with considerable emotion, "Yes, every intelligent Jew in Europe, who reflects on the subject, is of the same mind." If this Rabbi's testimony be true, the children of Jacob are indeed deplorably fallen! And from the *manner* in which they conduct what *they* call the *worship of GOD*, who would suppose they either credit His word, or believe in His existence? It cannot even be called a *solemn* mockery; the *irreligion* of it is too barefaced to have any pretensions to *solemnity*, or indeed even to *decorum*.*

* A friend of mine went into the synagogue in Duke's place, Houndsditch, London, to observe the method in which they conducted their worship. Happening to come near a Jew who

Having brought the work thus far, I think it proper to conclude the whole wth some account of the Jewish Liturgy.

In former times their synagogue service was composed of *prayers, reading the Scriptures,* and *expounding them.* At present the latter is not generally regarded. At first their prayers were very short and simple. Our LORD's prayer is a model of this kind; and seems to have been taken from some of the Jewish forms extant in his time; at least, every petition of it is found in the antient Jewish writings: but even then there were some hypocritical Pharisees who made *long prayers,* and these our LORD most cuttingly reprehends. The liturgy of the modern Jews is greatly increased in size, which makes their synagogue service long and tedious: and the rubric by which they regulate it is very intricate, perplexed, and encumbered with many rites and ceremonious observances; in all of which, says Dr. Prideaux, they equal, if not exceed, both the superstition and length of the Popish service.*

was loudly chanting his part of the sacred office, he unfortunately trod on his toes. The man instantly suspended his reading; and, with a countenance as fierce as a tyger, cried "—your eyes! can't you see?" and then recollecting his piety anew, he immediately resumed his sacred employment, and with the *same devotion* as before, continued to accompany his brethren, having lost but about *two seconds* in pronouncing his execration.

* Maimonides in Tephillah, and Prideaux's Connections, Vol. II. p. 538.

The most solemn part of their *prayers* are those which they call שמונה עשרה *Shemoneh Esreh*, i.e. the *eighteen prayers*.[c] These, they say, were composed by *Ezra* and the *great synagogue*: and to them *Rab. Gamaliel*, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, added the *nineteenth* against the *Christians*, who are intended under the names of *apostate* and *heretics*. These prayers are allowed to be very antient, for mention is made of them in the *Mishnah* (*Berachoth*, c. iv. s. 3.) as old settled forms; and they were doubtless (at least the major part of them) used in our SAVIOUR's time.[d] That which was formerly the *nineteenth* prayer is now the *twelfth* in the order in which they stand in the Jewish liturgies. The first part, or rather the *precatory* part of each article, was pronounced by the priest: the last, or *eucharistical* part, was the response of the people.

"1. Blessed be Thou, O LORD our GOD, the GOD of our fathers, the GOD of Abraham, the GOD of Isaac, the GOD of Jacob, the great GOD, powerful and tremendous, the high GOD, bountifully dispensing benefits, the Creator and Possessor of the universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in Thy love sendest a Redeemer to those who are descended from them, for Thy name's sake, O King, our LORD and Helper, our Saviour

[c] The 10th, 11th, 14th and 17th, seem to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, and consequently to have been composed *after* that period. Yet it is possible, that these may refer to the calamities of more antient times.

[d] See Prideaux.

and our shield.—*Blessed art Thou, O* LORD, *who art the shield of Abraham.*

"2. Thou, O LORD, art powerful for ever; Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save; Thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with Thy beneficence all that are therein; and of Thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou raisest up those who fall, Thou healest the sick, Thou loosest them who are bound, and makest good Thy word of truth to those who sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to Thee, O Thou LORD of might? and who is like unto Thee, O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring as the grass in the field! Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life.—*Blessed art Thou, O* LORD, *who raisest the dead again to life!*

"3. Thou art holy, and Thy name is holy, and Thy saints do praise Thee every day, Selah. For a great King and a holy art thou, O GOD.—*Blessed art Thou, O* LORD GOD *most holy!*

"4. Thou of Thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding: give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding.—*Blessed art Thou, O* LORD, *who graciously givest knowledge unto men!*

"5. Bring us back, O our Father, to the observance of Thy law, and make us to adhere to Thy precepts; and do Thou, O our King, draw us near to Thy worship, and convert us to Thee by perfect repentance in Thy presence.—*Blessed art Thou,*

O LORD, *who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance!*

"6. Be Thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed against Thee. For Thou art a God, good and ready to pardon.—*Blessed art Thou, O Lord most gracious, who multipliest Thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins!*

"7. Look, we beseech Thee, upon our afflictions. Be Thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead Thou our cause in all our litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for Thy name's sake. For Thou art our GOD, our King, and a strong Redeemer.—*Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.*

"8. Heal us, O LORD our GOD, and we shall be healed; save us, and we shall be saved. For Thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For Thou art a GOD who healest, and art merciful.—*Blessed art Thou, O* LORD *our* GOD, *who curest the diseases of thy people Israel!*

"9. Bless us, O LORD our GOD, in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land, and satiate the world with Thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth, that is habitable.—*Blessed art Thou, O* LORD, *who givest Thy blessing to the years!*

"10. Gather us together by the sound of the

great trumpet to the enjoyment of our liberty; and lift up Thy ensign to call together all the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth, into our own land.—*Blessed art Thou, O LORD, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel!*

"11. Restore unto us, our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and remove far from us affliction and trouble; and do Thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice.—*Blessed art Thou, O LORD our King, who lovest righteousness and justice!*

"12.[a] Let there be no hope to them who apostatise from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days.—*Blessed art Thou, O LORD our GOD, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud!*

"13. Upon the pious and the just, and upon[s] the

[a] This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians; or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his scholars.

[r] The Roman empire.

[s] The proselytes of justice were such as received the whole Jewish law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proselytes there were who conformed only to the seven precepts of the sons of Noah; and these were called proselytes of the gate, because they worshipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner courts. Of all these we have already spoken, p. 260, 262.

proselytes of justice, and upon the remnant of Thy people of the house of Israel, let Thy mercies be moved, O LORD our GOD, and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in Thy name; and grant us our portion with them; and for ever let us not be ashamed, for we put our trust in Thee. —*Blessed art Thou, O LORD, who art the support and confidence of the just!*

"14. Dwell Thou in the midst of Jerusalem Thy city, as Thou hast promised; build it with a building to last for ever, and do this speedily even in our days.—*Blessed art Thou, O LORD, who buildest Jerusalem!*

"15. Make the offspring of David Thy servant speedily to grow up, and flourish; and let our horn be exalted in Thy salvation. For we hope for Thy salvation every day.—*Blessed art Thou, O LORD, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.*

"16. Hear our voice, O LORD our GOD, most merciful Father; pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers with Thy mercy and favour, and send us not away from Thy presence, O our King. For Thou hearest with mercy the prayer of Thy people Israel.—*Blessed art Thou O LORD, who hearest prayer!*

"17. Be thou well pleased, O LORD our GOD, with Thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers; restore Thy worship to[h] the inner part of

[h] i. e. The *Adytum Templi*, which in the Temple of Jerusalem was the holy of holies, into which none ever entered but the highpriest once a year on the great day of expiation. From

Thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel Thy people be continually well pleasing unto Thee.—*Blessed art Thou, O* LORD, *who restorest Thy Divine presence to Zion.*

"18. We will give thanks unto Thee with praise; for Thou art the LORD our GOD, the GOD of our fathers, for ever and ever. Thou art our rock, and the rock of our life, and the shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto Thee, and declare Thy praise, because of our life which is always in Thy hands; and because of Thy signs, which are every day with us; and because of Thy wonders, and marvellous loving-kindness, which are morning, and evening, and night, before us. Thou art good, for Thy mercies are not consumed; Thou art merciful, for Thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in Thee. And for all these mercies be Thy name, O King, blessed and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto Thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise Thy name, O GOD of our salvation, and our help. Selah.—*Blessed art Thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and to whom it is fitting alway to give praise.*

"19. Give peace, beneficence, and benediction,

this place after the Babylonish captivity were wanting the *ark*, the *mercy seat*, the *Shechinah* of the Divine presence, and the *Urim* and *Thummim*, which causing an imperfection in their worship in respect of what it was formerly, a restoration of them seems to be what is prayed for in this place.

grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel Thy people. Bless us, our Father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of Thy countenance. For in the light of Thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O LORD our GOD, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in Thine eyes to bless Thy people Israel with Thy peace at all times, and in every moment.—*Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who blessest Thy people Israel with peace.* Amen."[1]

Every thing in the present state of this people must lead the attentive reader to say with the apostle, *God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this day.*

Behold the goodness *and* severity *of God: on them who fell* severity, *but toward thee* goodness, *if thou continue in His goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be* cut off.

Blindness in part *is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: for there shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.* *Paul,* Rom. xi.

May GOD, in mercy and pity, convert these outcasts of Israel!

The following prayer, which is used on entering

[1] For the prayers, readings, &c. performed in the different parts of the synagogue service throughout the whole year see the synagogue service published in Hebrew and English, by Mr. Alexander; London, A. M. 5531, 6 vols. 8vo.

the synagogue on the morning of a fast-day, has something both solemn and affecting in it. The original is in a kind of unequal verse, the endings of which rhyme to each other.

"*I come into Thy house in the multitude of Thy mercies; and in Thy fear will I worship towards Thy holy temple.*

"The tribe of Judah is oppressed, and in distress:—and shall the lion still continue to roar in the forest? The father and the children, the poor and the needy, with hope, wait for Thy salvation.—O stand in the breach, and suffer us not to become a derision? Why standest Thou afar off, O LORD? Thy people are brought even to the gates of death. O Thou that dwellest between the cherubim, shine forth! grant us help, and deliver us from the adversary. Is the power of the LORD limited?—Renew our days in this long captivity! Awake, why dost Thou slumber, O GOD! Remember Thy children in a land not their own; nor suffer aliens to approach them to their hurt! Reveal unto Thy people who sit solitary the happy period of their restoration! Let Mount Zion rejoice, let the daughters of Judah be glad! Let our supplications ascend to the highest heavens, O GOD, the King, who sittest on the throne of compassion!"

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Page 17, line 11, for "right" read *night.*

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